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—by Michael Straight

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Washington Wire

For a Special Session

A FULL propaganda attack is being readied for Harry Truman. The State Department has decided that a special session of Congress on the European aid problem is imperative, and it means to start persuading the President to that opinion right away. The current rash of newspaper stories on whether Congress will or will not be called back to Washington are a part of the campaign designed to demonstrate great public interest in the question. We sincerely hope that the plan works.

Official reports now flowing into the State Department definitely point to economic collapse in most of Western Europe unless the US sends relief promptly—food and goods to sustain life this winter as well as for longer-range reconstruction. Marshall's staff is counting on this increasingly dark picture to change Truman's mind about the necessity for a special session.

When the issue was raised by the State Department before Congress adjourned, Democratic leaders convinced the President that such a move was too risky politically so close to an election. Now Marshall will show Truman a sheaf of cablegrams from Undersecretary Will Clayton, who the President knows is not the panicky type, reportedly warning that we must provide at least $2.5 billion to Europe before the first of the year, when, according to Truman's earlier timetable, Congress would just be beginning to consider the "Marshall Plan." The Secretary will buttress Clayton's reports with another by George Kennan, his chief planning expert, who has just returned from a rush trip to Paris spent in documenting Clayton's general case.

But aside from Marshall, Secretary of Commerce Averill Harriman is the only member of the cabinet enthusiastic for the special session. The others lean toward Sam Rayburn and Alben Barkley's views that there are too many chances that it might backfire politically, that unfriendly Republicans are too likely to bring up embarrassing matters unrelated to foreign relief, that the President's request for a large appropriation might be defeated, or subjected to the kind of delay Representative John Taber (R, N. Y.) created on the Greek-Turkish loan. Then where would presidential prestige be, the politicians ask?

We think there is a good chance that the President will look squarely at the facts and call Congress back. If he does so, he would also do well to follow the free advice Senator Vandenberg gave him on this point last week. Congress will expect to be presented with a complete plan and the answers to all the questions, Vandenberg warned the Administration. It will not write any blank checks for the relief of Europe, no matter how urgent the case may be.

THE Krug, Nourse and Harriman committees tell us that their studies are moving according to schedule and that the data they need from the Paris Conference are beginning to come in. That means that the Administration's Marshall Plan should turn from an idea into a reality about October 1. If the Foreign Relations Committees went to work on the proposed legislation promptly, there should be real work for a special session of Congress by December 1.

Truman will probably delay his decision on issuing the call until: (1) he has heard Secretary of the Treasury Snyder's impressions of the European situation from the London Bank Conference he is now attending, and (2) a fair sample of junketing congressmen have returned to say whether they agree with the first returnee, Representative Brooks Hays (D, Ark.), who told the ship reporters last week that

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★ In a New York newspaper story, *dated September 4, 1947* it was reported: "Robert A. Lovett . . . acting Secretary of State, warned today that the progressively worsening economic plight of Great Britain and western Europe could not wait for the Marshall Plan of European recovery and that affirmative action by the government would be required before the year's end."

★ New Republic's Editor Henry Wallace reported *over a month ago* (NR July 21, 1947) that "even if the European nations are able to agree quickly on a system of priorities for their needs . . . supplies probably will not reach Europe for at least a year. . . . In these months it is of the greatest importance, now and for the future, that immediate needs of Europe be faced, in an emergency program administered through the UN."

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New Republic

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he favored calling Congress back into session right away.

THERE is very little ready money among Democratic Party insiders on who will succeed Bob Hannegan as Democratic National Chairman. But most of the insiders will bet that Eisenhower does not show up on the Democratic ticket in 1948. At least two top Democrats have severe cases of White House frostbite from mentioning the Chief of Staff as 1948 material. First, Secretary of Agriculture Clinton Anderson innocently suggested to the President that General Eisenhower would make a good running mate. When Truman had made it clear how very little he thought of his proposal, Anderson began to think of himself in the vice-presidential role instead of in the national chairmanship the President had slated him for.

Later, on returning from his long sick leave out of Washington, Bob Hannegan felt the same cold wave when he informed the boss that "the only thing in Truman's way now is Eisenhower."

HANNEGAN'S protégé, Gael Sullivan, now executive director of the Democratic National Committee, would almost certainly be made chairman if the choice were left to the vote of the committee. Truman likes Sullivan and would probably go along with the majority of the committee if it were not for his old army buddies, John Snyder and Harry Vaughan, who hate Sullivan's liberalism.

Still in the running for Hannegan's job are: former Massachusetts Representative Joseph E. Casey, Senator J. Howard McGrath (D, R. I.) and Sam Jackson, 1944 convention chairman and former Senator from Indiana. Personally, we are watching as a possible —and horrible—sleeper candidate Ed Pauley of California. He is back in Washington doing a special War Department job for the President. And in spite of Pauley's involvement in the Tidelands Oil scandal, Truman remains loyal to him and grateful for the fat campaign contributions he brought in as party treasurer.

Washington T. R. B.

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New Republic

VOLUME 117, NUMBER 11, ISSUE 1711, NEW YORK CITY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1947

News in Focus

Exodus: IX, 13

THE 4,000 Jewish refugees of the *Exodus 1947*, after a sorrowful pilgrimage toward the Promised Land and back, have been lodged at the Poppendorf DP camp, near Lübeck, Germany. The British army and navy thereby completed a job known under the laconic title of "Operation Oasis."

Our New Cabinet

THE high-powered State Department shock troops flown into Greece seem at last to have the situation in hand. Themistocles Sophoulis, the aged Liberal leader who resembles J. P. Morgan the Elder or a stouter version of Jan Christiaan Smuts, has been installed as premier, and the 37-year-old split between the Populists (Royalists) and the Liberals has been patched up, at least superficially and for the moment. The new cabinet contains 14 Populists and 11 Liberals.

The confidence with which all US correspondents predict what is going to happen next indicates that the State Department's Loy Henderson and his minions, US Ambassador Lincoln MacVeagh and Aid Administrator Dwight P. Griswold, think they have the situation taped this time.

Sophoulis will ask the Parliament for a vote of confidence and a decree of amnesty for guerrillas who will lay down their arms. Then he will ask Parliament to adjourn until November 1 to give the cabinet a chance to get something done by decree. Robert Conway, the New York *Daily News* man in Athens, says that leaflets telling of the amnesty will be dropped by planes from US and British aircraft carriers so the guerrillas won't think it is a hoax. They may also notice that the new regime is backed by a lot of airplanes.

Constantin Tsaldaris, the deposed premier and oily *eminence grise* of Greek politics, is still plainly visible through the new snow-white coalition curtain. He is deputy premier, foreign minister and chairman of an inner cabinet council composed of two Populists and two Liberals. This is obviously a compromise to get everyone to go along. Its importance is being minimized by the Liberals and emphasized by the Populists. In any case, Henderson *et al.* have got what they wanted—a more palatable political front behind which to get on with the Truman Doctrine (see Leland Stowe, p. 12).

Let Them Eat Cake

WHILE government officials were hinting that US consumers might have to face resumption of rationing if Europeans weren't to be left to starve, the Millers' National Federation and the American Bakers' Association are making plans to spend $4 million to get Americans to eat more bread and bakery products. The money will go for an "educational" campaign to push up the US per-capita wheat consumption and to keep US citizens eating more than $2.5 billion annually of bakery products.

"Come you back . . ."

NO one expected the political liberation of 400 million Indians to solve overnight the problems of the sub-continent. But few of the millions of progressives throughout the world who hailed the liberation hopefully were prepared for the almost unbelievable horror of the communal riotings and massacres. The tragic irony was pointed up by an occurrence in Lahore less than three weeks after the emancipation.

In Lahore, in 1846, the treaty that sealed the British conquest of the Sikhs was signed. In Lahore, in 1882, Rudyard Kipling began his career as the lifelong enemy of Indian freedom. (The poet laureate of British imperialism started at 17 as a sub-editor of the Lahore *Civil and Military Gazette.*)

And in Lahore last week, Indians, protesting the killing of hundreds of thousands in the communal rioting, flocked to the statue of Queen Victoria. They bedecked Kipling's queen with flowers and chanted, "Bring back the British Raj."

Love Thine Enemy

THE US-licensed German news agency DENA reports that 1,211 Americans have been granted permission to marry German Fräuleins since the end of the marriage ban 10 months ago. An additional 2,650 applications are in the process of being sorted.

Opening Isotope

THE great American nuclear-fission plants, hitherto just a black shadow of doom in the mind of mankind, last week began to produce some good in the world, but still as a by-product of atom bombs. The radioisotopes, which the Atomic Energy Commission will begin selling abroad, are radioactive forms of stable elements such as carbon or sodium. Introduced into the human body, they can be traced wherever they go and so provide what is considered the greatest aid to medical research since the invention of the microscope.

These isotopes have no possible use

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in the making of atom bombs, but the national psychology is such that the AEC found it necessary to assure the public that no "atomic secrets" were being given away. The conditions of sale are somewhat patronizing of foreign scientists—assurance that the recipient is competent and will stick to the purpose stated in his request, progress reports to the USAEC which may be published, and free inspection of work in progress by scientists of all nations—but they are nevertheless sound and in accord with the open, international traditions of science. The Soviet Union, which is currently doing first-grade medical research and reporting it openly, is one of the nations which has asked for isotopes. It remains to be seen if the Russians will accept our strict terms, and if the more intemperate Russophobes in and out of Congress will allow anything with the word "atom" connected with it to be sold to Soviet scientists.

Airmail Pork

WHEN the Civil Aeronautics Board two weeks ago okayed the sale by Western Airlines of its Denver-Los Angeles run to United Airlines, chairman James M. Landis filed a dissenting brief to show that the US taxpayer was footing a large share of the bill. Landis pointed out that Western was getting $1.5 million for "intangible assets," which everyone knew meant its government franchise to operate the route. Western, said Landis, was selling something it had acquired for nothing, and this artificial price boost would be counted by United in figuring its airmail subsidy, which is calculated to allow a reasonable return on total investment.

$$ Through the Iron Curtain

UNITED STATES-SOVIET trade is running well ahead of prewar averages despite the cold war on the ideological front. In addition to the goods sent to the Soviet Union under lend-lease and UNRRA, US private business exported in the first half of 1947 the total of $45.1 million, compared with $26.2 million in the comparable period last year and $34.8 million in the first half of 1938. US imports from the Soviet Union in the first half of 1947 were $35.6 million compared with $11.8 million for the same period of 1938.

The bulk of the exports were of electrical equipment (three times the 1938 figure), vehicles and machines, with smaller quantities of textiles, iron and steel products, foodstuffs. Imports were rare and needed metals, furs, tobacco, cotton linters. Manganese ore, chrome ore, platinum and palladium were six times the quantities imported in 1938.

What impresses trade experts is the fact that the boom is taking place despite the Soviet dollar shortage and the US goods shortage. They say the Soviet demand for US machinery and technical know-how is almost unlimited. Commerce Department officials assert that the Soviets would be willing to buy almost every item which has been going to the USSR under lend-lease. On the other hand, the US greatly needs minerals of strategic importance which the USSR has in great abundance, in order to replenish the currently dwindling stockpile here.

The Case of Irene Morgan

ON June 3, 1946, the US Supreme Court ruled in the case of Irene Morgan v. the Commonwealth of Virginia that segregation on interstate public carriers was "an undue burden on interstate commerce." Last April a group of eight white men and eight Negroes started a two-week train-and-bus trip through Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky to test the decision. Last week the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality, joint sponsors of the trip, made their report. Here is what happened:

¶ In about one case out of three nothing at all occurred.

¶ In another third of the tests, bus drivers or conductors told the Negroes to move, and when they refused to do so, citing the Morgan decision, nothing further was done. In some of these cases arrests were threatened at the next town but were not made.

¶ In the remaining cases, arrests were made. Local judges invariably enforced state Jim Crow laws in defiance of the Morgan decision and gave much stiffer penalties to the whites in the group than to the Negroes. All these cases are being appealed.

¶ Most bus drivers and conductors had never heard of the Morgan decision, and took their stand, if any, on the basis of local Jim Crow laws.

¶ Other passengers were apathetic as a rule and did not enter the arguments at all.

¶ On three occasions Negro passengers implored the Negro members of the group not to raise the issue.

¶ The police were courteous and fair. The only case of attempted violence occurred in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, when a taxi driver struck at one of the white members of the group, accusing him of "coming down here to stir up the niggers."

The group reached these conclusions: In the four states visited, but probably not further South, travelers are not rabid about seeing that Jim Crow laws are enforced. If the drivers or conductors explain that the local laws are not valid, the passengers will usually drop the matter. The most persistent troublemakers are the ignorant and socially and economically insecure whites, who depend on Jim Crow for personal status. These men, often taxi drivers and idlers around bus and train stations, direct their main venom against the whites who are attempting to upset Jim Crow.

Solomonic Verdict

GERMAN administrators of a small town in southern Germany had a problem, according to dispatches in the German press. Determined to be democratic, and equally determined not to be unpatriotic, they could not make up their minds whether to change the name of the town's main thoroughfare, called Hindenburg Strasse. They appealed to American Military Government for a decision.

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The verdict: If the street was named in honor of Fieldmarshal Hindenburg, the name must be changed. If, however, the street was named to honor Hindenburg as Reich President, it need not change its name.

Dwindling Backlog

ECONOMISTS and statisticians who have been watching the steady decline in personal savings and the rise of consumer credit have known for some months that the post-OPA inflation was rapidly wiping out the backlog of wartime savings which largely made it possible. Anyone who visited a bank last week could see long lines of veterans waiting to cash their terminal-leave bonds (average: $208.60).

More than 70 percent of the 9,160,000 bondholders are expected to turn them in, and at least a fifth of them will do so to pay immediate debts. Various surveys indicate that another 13 percent will use the money for payments on homes, 11 percent will go for medical expenses, 11 percent for insurance, 10 percent for clothing, 10 percent for furniture, eight percent for home repairs and six percent for education.

The inflationary effect of the new money ($1.35 billion) should not be great, judging from past experience. In June, 1936, almost exactly the same amount of bonus bonds ($1.8 billion) held by veterans of the First World War became convertible into cash. Within five months 75 percent were cashed; only 12 percent were held to maturity. There were predictions of inflation then, but during the five-month period the wholesale price index rose only five points, and other factors were involved. And today there is three times as much money in circulation. Meanwhile, the Veterans' Administration made it known that veterans are due for another melon cut of about $1.25 billion. Monthly premiums on GI insurance are piling up, and the VA hopes to arrange dividend payments late next year or early in 1949 to all the 18 millions who held or still hold National Service Life Insurance.

French newspapers of all political hues are concerned over the continuing three-power conferences to build up German industry. Their point of view on France's role in the conferences is expressed in this cartoon from the weekly magazine *Aux Ecoutes*.

Displaced Persons

IN THE last eight months, since the 36-nation Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees ceded its functions to the United Nations Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization, nine nations have agreed to resettle some 128,700 men, women and children from Europe's displaced-persons camps. Five other nations are bidding for about 200,000 workers and their families; talks have reached the semi-final stage. But all in all, that makes only about a quarter of the 1,250,000 made homeless by World War II.

So far, the tally of those who have reached agreement with the IRO and the occupation authorities is:

Belgium wants 20,000 workers from the US zone, and 15,000 from the British—mainly coal miners. Recruitment has started.

Holland will take 8,000 people from the US zone.

Bolivia will take 100 workers, mostly metal workers and their families, aggregating up to 500.

Brazil has said she wants 1,000 men and their families, or about 5,000 people from all zones of Germany, Austria and Italy. They will be mostly agricultural and industrial workers.

Chile has bid for 2,000 metal workers and their families, amounting to 10,000. A survey will specify what skills are needed.

Peru has asked for some 5,000 people from all zones and will take agricultural, industrial and domestic workers.

Venezuela has agreed to admit 15,000 colonists—farmers, construction workers, mechanics, domestics—from all zones.

Australia has signed on 12,000 settlers plus their families, and has asked only for a "fair cross-section" of Europe's population.

Among the nations which are believed ready to sign with the IRO, there are:

Britain, which talks of taking "a

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Is It Already Too Late?

by David Schoenbrun

PARIS (by wireless).—The big questions here are:

"Will US economic help for Europe come too late?

"Will there be too little of it?"

Whether or not Congress can be made to come alive to it, the hard fact is that Western Europe is on the verge of utter economic rout. And the almost inevitable political consequences of such a catastrophe would be a major defeat for the democratic forces of the West, which the US professes to support.

In the first half of this year, France, Britain and Italy spent $1.4 billion on US goods, including foodstuffs. As time passes the need grows greater. Undersecretary Lovett wasn't exaggerating when he said that the drought in France was the worst since the time of Napoleon. The situation is almost as bad in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and much of Germany. Pastures, potatoes and feed grain have been hard hit. Hogs, cattle and chickens will have to be killed this winter because of the lack of feed.

The US will have to send food and fuel to Europe or face the political consequences of hunger and cold.

For example, Italy, already living almost exclusively on the $75 million US relief appropriation, won't have a dollar left by the year's end. Britain has about $400 million left of the US loan. France relies on the temporary $25 million monthly credit from the International Monetary Fund. Both Britain and France have tightened their belts. The French, already screaming over the Ramadier government's austerity moves, will have a bread ration less than that of western Germany.

What Kennan, Clayton and the other US top men found out at the 16-nation conference here on the Marshall Plan had a great deal to do with Lovett's warning that unless the US helped Europe before the Marshall Plan got going, there might be no Marshall Plan at all. On the other hand, Marshall's men changed the original plan to sit back and let the conferees work out a self-help plan. Finding that short-term, immediate help for Europe's economy was infinitely more urgent and important than drawing up plans for the long-term help, they realized that US guidance and consultation for the conferees were absolutely essential in order to draft a plan of the sort which could be submitted to a special session of Congress. The principal US guidance was on plans to increase production and to share resources.

ONE event of the last few days which has complicated the situation here is the decision of the US-British conference in Washington to try to boost Ruhr coal production by increasing rations, stepping-up housing construction and shipping US supplies to repair rolling stock. The French, of course, want more Ruhr coal mined, but they fear the Germans may be going to get the cream of whatever help the US may give Europe on the short-term basis. France is convinced that a split has developed inside the Truman cabinet, with the State Department sympathizing with France against the War Department's policy of rebuilding Germany regardless of the condition of France. If the US really does follow through on such a policy without helping France, the French Communists will stand a good chance of winning the support of a majority of the French people. On the other hand, if the French break with the US over this issue, France might collapse without US aid and the Communists would then take over anyway.

The US can save the French government by interim help before the Marshall Plan gets rolling. Otherwise the US may find that it has won a Pyrrhic victory over Foreign Minister Bidault, with the Communists returning triumphantly to the government to scuttle the Marshall Plan. Unless this help comes quickly—long before the regular session of Congress next spring—that session may not have a Marshall Plan to make decisions about.

David Schoenbrun is CBS correspondent in Paris.

number of hundreds" of workers in each week. Some have guessed this would eventually mean 100,000 people. Colonists will come in on work contracts, which don't stipulate (or preclude) citizenship. Coal miners, women domestic workers, textile workers and nurses are high on British priority lists.

France has agreed to recruit 20,000 to 50,000 technicians from the US zone.

Argentina has made direct agreements to take in Italian immigrants, as she prefers the Latin-speaking populations. However, no IRO agreement is set.

Canada is negotiating for up to 5,000 lumberjacks and woodworkers and may possibly also take sugar-beet and textile workers.

The United States: Contrary to recent reports that only 6,000 of the world's displaced persons got here under the quota system last year, the latest State Department figures show that visas were given to 21,772 displaced persons between March 31, 1946, and June 30, 1947, to be admitted as immigrants under President Truman's 1945 directive. So far, nine-tenths of the immigrants are here; the rest are awaiting transportation at Bremerhaven.

However, this US immigration is not comparable to the independent new arrangements of other IRO members, who liberalized their immigration laws to take in new settlers. The US merely adapted its old quota system to cover the case of refugees who land in our zone.

Peace, It's *Wunderbar*

IN Dusseldorf, one of the worst wrecked towns in Germany, authorities recently conducted a Gallup-type poll on the question: Do you believe that there will be a third world war? Ten thousand Germans of all ages and occupation groups were questioned. According to the Berlin daily *Die Welt,* 74 percent of those questioned replied that they did indeed believe that there would be a third world war, and 78 percent of the younger people added that they thought such a war was "imminent."

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Henry Wallace

On the Road Again

IN THE growth of Detroit is the story of this industrial age. Almost all the accomplishments and weaknesses of our society are found, and often magnified, in this sprawling, fascinating city. Again and again I have visited Detroit, and always, I come away marveling at some new achievement and disturbed by some new problem.

I visited Detroit on the Labor Day weekend. I had an enjoyable trip through the Michigan State Fair, where the products of the state's great industries are displayed alongside those of its farms. Then, on Labor Day, I joined the members of the CIO unions in their Labor Day parade and had the privilege of speaking to them in their historic meeting place—Cadillac Square.

More than 250 locals of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) took part in the parade. At the head was R. J. Thomas, former UAW president, Tracy Doll, president of the Wayne County Council of the CIO, and myself. After we reached the reviewing stand, the parade continued for another two hours. Prominent in it was a float pulled by bare-chested workers who were being lashed forward by a figure labeled Senator Taft. Many of the workers carried placards denouncing Governor Kim Sigler of Michigan, who was also the subject of some highly uncomplimentary songs written for the occasion and sung in chorus by the marchers.

It was a most stimulating weekend. I heard from many sources how Detroit is straining every nerve to meet the nation's demand for its products. But I also heard of the problem posed for many industries, and automobiles especially, by the shortage of steel which is interrupting production in plant after plant.

As I watched the thousands of workers in the Labor Day parade, it was alarming to think how much the welfare of these citizens and their families is dependent on frightened men in the steel industry who are afraid to invest in an expanding American economy and prefer the reactionary capitalists' now dominant school of scarcity economics. The need to replace such economics with a progressive capitalistic program of abundance will become increasingly clear as prices rise and the inflationary spiral moves on toward another smash.

I went to Detroit deeply conscious of the task progressives confront as they begin the counter-offensive to repeal anti-labor legislation and stop the national swing to reaction. I was especially interested in finding whether there was any progress toward healing the split in the ranks of labor in Detroit, as elsewhere. This city, which in the past has often set wage patterns for the whole country, should be acutely aware that take-home pay cannot be maintained unless organization for collective bargaining is matched by unified organization for political effort.

The Democratic Party, in Detroit as in many other Northern cities, is organizationally weak. It depends on labor-union enthusiasm to get out the vote, and in important municipal elections the problem is more pronounced, because these elections are non-partisan in character. In the past, the record of labor as a whole in such elections has been disappointing because of the lack of sustained, day-in-and-day-out action on the political field.

ANOTHER opportunity for a progressive political organization to give strength to the Democratic Party or to form the basis for a new party is now presenting itself. Detroit liberals are preparing a slate of candidates for the City Council election in November. If it is to succeed, labor must learn to sink its differences. But the bitter internal fights in the UAW seem unlikely to subside before the election, and it was discouraging to see the lack of a joint AFL-CIO Labor Day protest against anti-labor legislation.

Not only in Detroit but elsewhere, I detect a failure of labor to advocate foreign policies as liberal as their domestic ones. On foreign issues they take the advice of the very newspapers and legislators who, in the domestic field, are bitterly anti-labor. This is a matter for time and education; and unfortunately, the time is short and the means for education are inadequate to the size of the problem.

I hope that the alert men and women I was privileged to address on Labor Day will act quickly, in unity, and with determination in the political field. Their actions, and similar actions throughout the nation, can spare our children the necessity of taking even more difficult and harsher measures to restore our government to the people and to compel America to play its proper role in the world. H. W.

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Fixing the Blame for the Cold War

by Michael Straight

ALL our lives are dominated by a great struggle. The rulers of America regard it as a struggle between freedom and communism. The rulers of Russia regard it as a struggle between the masses and their exploiters; to the people of Russia, America and all countries it is a struggle for clothing, shelter and three square meals a day.

The conflict is not between freedom and communism; Russia is not communist, and we are not free. It is not between the people and their exploiters; exploitation is still present in Russia, and the basis of our government is popular consent.

To the extent that even the most exploited Americans are fired by the ideal of freedom, we are free. For freedom Americans—and Europeans—will fight and die. Soviet leaders are wrong when they assume that for us freedom is a mockery.

In turn we wrongly equate civil liberty and democracy. Civil liberty has been an outgrowth of capitalist democracy. But peoples may reach democracy by other roads than capitalism. For America and Britain, democracy today means the opportunity for the minority in politics to become the majority through the division of powers in government and the assurance of political rights. Yet our democratic origins lay partly in the French Revolution, which, in liberating the world from feudalism, asserted that democracy was the rule of the majority. In many Eastern European countries, whose peoples today are moving directly from feudalism to socialism, majority rule exists and makes its claim to democracy. Only in nations such as Germany, where the people themselves have been corrupted, is there no pretense of majority rule. And no sane American suggests that we should press for immediate democracy among corrupted peoples.

If the war we fought had any purpose, it was to achieve a stable world order, based on the Four Freedoms.

No Allied nation claimed a monopoly on the four freedoms or asserted that a future world society should be formed after its own image. The concept of One World, if it meant anything, meant that all the Allies would contribute in some measure to a one-world society. And the concept of the United Nations, if it meant anything, expressed the doctrine of the peaceful coexistence of communist, socialist and capitalist societies within the UN during the interim in which the one-world society would slowly emerge.

This doctrine, of peaceful coexistence, was the unwritten assumption of the entire Allied war effort. Teheran, Moscow, Yalta, San Francisco—all gave recognition to its validity.

Yet Russia and the Anglo-Americans fought two separate wars against the Axis. So we emerged with two worlds. As long as the doctrine of peaceful coexistence continued in force, they were two peaceful worlds. When the doctrine was shattered, they became two worlds preparing for war.

It is the breakdown of this doctrine that threatens all of us today. In this breakdown, the use of the veto, the scramble for strategic materials and bases, the domination of small countries, the imprisonment and execution of opposition leaders and the accumulation of atomic weapons are not causes but symptoms.

FROM Yalta, Roosevelt returned to assert that peace depended upon the achievement of an ever widening area of common ground among the Allies. Between a communist society with increasing liberty, and a capitalist society with increasing planning, the common ground of democratic socialism would constantly widen. In all countries the democratic progressive movement would gain strength and serve as a unifying force.

Instead, as the roundup in this week's *New Republic* demonstrates, all nations are being divided by the conflict between America and Russia. Each is sticking to its own rigid status quo, and where they meet, the contrasts between both societies are accentuated rather than modified. This conflict is reducing once independent and democratic nations to a colonial status in which, if American or Soviet armies or supplies are withdrawn, civil war must follow. It is blighting the spirit of a new internationalism and the hopes of political and social reforms. It is reducing vital peoples to pawns. In establishing the dogma, *he who is not for us is against us,* it strangles all center groups in favor of extremes of Right and Left, in which our own progressive country is identified with the extreme Right. As long as the conflict between Russia and America was limited, limits were set in other countries to the growth of both extremes. Now, as it becomes an all-out conflict, all

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groups are rushing into one or the other armed camp in the panic-stricken belief that one side must lose and that the losers will be annihilated.

THE conflict between democracy and reaction is of course present in all countries. But in every country it is given a brutal and deadly force today by the impact of Soviet-American rivalry.

In the former enemy countries the purpose of the Allies was to eradicate fascism. That meant not imprisoning a few wretched men, but replacing the pattern of a fascist society with a superior democratic pattern—a pattern on which America and Russia could agree. As the hope of agreement died, the new society vanished with it. Fascism remained. Left alone, Germany would go fascist again within a few months. In the American zone, I. G. Farben is prosecuted while its counterparts are reinstated. In the Soviet zone, Von Paulus threatened to return with a call for a national assembly—a term first used by Quisling.

In dependent and undemocratic countries, progress toward freedom and democracy stumbles to a halt under pressure of Soviet-American rivalry. Four years ago we spoke of declaring Japanese-occupied Korea free, and then providing the technical assistance necessary for Korea to maintain freedom. Under Soviet and American occupation, Korea has sunk below the level of a colony. In Greece we are not yet ready to give real power to the liberals who ruled 15 years ago. We assert, quite rightly, that our presence is needed to prevent civil war. General Metaxas used the same phrases with more conviction in destroying Greek democracy 10 years ago.

Even in democratic countries, Soviet-American rivalry is destroying hope. In France democracy approached death during the occupation and was reborn in the Resistance movement. Catholic, Socialist, Communist and Center parties were bound together by the doctrine of coexistence. Today the spirit of the Resistance is almost gone and with it the unity of France. In Britain the breakup of the Labor Party and coalition with reaction is possible, because of the intolerable strain of a divided world. For Russia, and for America, even in the earliest stages of this struggle, the costs are also high.

It is hard to think through the problems of a planned democracy. It is simpler in the Soviet world to redouble the secret police and talk of revolutionary solidarity against capitalist encirclement. It is simpler, in our world, to seize on the scapegoat of communism, to distract attention from high prices and the housing shortage. Hostility and fear are carried by our press from the few to the majority and corrupt many progressives. Two years ago, Americans wanted to believe that Russians were good, and recoiled from headlines crying war. Today, too many want to believe that the same Russians are evil, and reach for headlines of hatred almost hoping their prejudices will be confirmed.

In a universal vacuum of political morality neither Russia nor America makes any claim to leadership.

In Eastern Europe the spirit of domestic reconstruction is strong. Yet the heart has gone out of the international Communist movement. Its onetime positive internationalist and socialist faith has largely given way to opportunism, nationalism, anti-capitalism, worship of power, and fear.

Are we any better? America, the strongest nation in the world, offers to humanity as its dominant ideology, in this time of world crisis, anti-communism. Ours is also a totally barren ideology of negation and hatred and fear. If it continues long as our ideology, our society will perish.

Because in a world desperate for food and shelter anti-communism as a faith is less than nothing. What if General Eisenhower should issue marching orders to General Gavin: *The 82nd Airborne Division will proceed at once to surround, attack and destroy the theory of evolution?* It would be just as realistic as President Truman's directive to surround, attack and destroy communism with dollars and armaments.

In the war of attrition against communism, America is going to lose. We shall lose because our ideology has no roots among the peoples of the world. But communism will not win. This struggle, in Marx's words, will end "in the common ruin of the contending classes."

TODAY we're drifting, and in years during which the destructive power of war multiplies, drift is the most fatal policy of all.

Two policies are possible.

We can acknowledge the existence of two warring worlds, and accept responsibility for the economic, social and political welfare, and the military superiority of our world. Only if this superiority was overwhelming and lasting could this doctrine offer hope of peace. Yet even America has not the resources to mobilize and sustain such power. What banners the rulers of our world under this doctrine will raise, in the inevitable conflict which it prepares for, are unclear, for they must rule by force, suppressing opposition, conscripting capital and labor, and sharply reducing living standards. But its epitaph is certain: the ancient and murderous lie repeated once again, and so self-righteously, by President Truman at Rio: If you want peace, prepare for war.

The second policy is to start on the task of constructing a world society based on the four freedoms.

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For America and Russia it means burying for good a great many icons. It means making up our minds very fast as to what we mean by the four freedoms. It means regarding progress toward the four freedoms in both countries as the means of survival; accepting democratic socialism as a way of life for most of the world, and setting out to find its American and Soviet counterparts while there is still time. I don't know what it takes in Russia, but in America it means facing the ugly truth that we who believe in the four freedoms are out of power today, and that only with ambition, organization and a working ideology shall we return.

COLD WAR: The Churchill Legacy in Greece

by Leland Stowe

So long as Constantin Tsaldaris, leader of the Greek monarchists, holds a key position in any Athens government the political future of Greece will be jeopardized.

His reactionary one-party government, even though it lasted only five days, represented the logically extreme conclusion of Winston Churchill's Greek policy. Despite Themistocles Sophoulis' premiership, Tsaldaris remains the strong man of Greece.

Who, in reality, gave Tsaldaris his chance at reactionary power? To understand the present Hellenic dilemma one must look closely into Churchill's muddied and bloodied Greek policy.

Churchill once told the House of Commons (December 8, 1944) that democracy "is not a harlot to be picked up in the street by a man with a tommy gun." Yet Tsaldaris' one-party Royalist regime owed its existence, and the monarchists owe their power, to British tommy guns and planes, plus American tanks and trucks.

The confused and even dangerous political situation in Greece lies a wet and wailing baby, right where the British deposited it last March—in the lap of our State Department.

That lap also holds the Greek people as a whole, for the State Department is being driven, through the operation of the Truman Doctrine, into ever greater interference in the internal affairs of their country. Meanwhile the Russians, having rounded up the Balkan peoples into their own political lap, are trying through agitation and propaganda to get the Greeks to come in, too. Neither side appears willing to see the Greeks try to stand on their own feet.

Quite rightly, our assumption of responsibility for Greece has produced few cheers. There can be no debate about the tragic, corrupted mess-and-murder which dominates the present internal situation in Greece. The Communists and other guerrillas still fight in the mountains; they receive an unknown amount of aid from across the Albanian, Yugoslavian or Bulgarian frontiers. Although at least half a dozen non-Marxist, democratic parties remain in Greece, they recently refused to participate in a Tsaldaris Populist (monarchist) government. While London and Washington were promising the Greek people genuine democracy, the monarchists were able to seize power briefly against strong State Department opposition. They remain the dominating force in the confused political picture. How could this end-result emerge?

ALTHOUGH he was the one world statesman most intimately connected with the origins of the Greek political muddle, Winston Churchill has remained singularly uncommunicative about its beginnings in 1943-44. "All through 1944," he told the House of Commons in December of that year, "we have had the usual trouble with the Greek government and Greek troops in Egypt. There were mutinies and disorders." That was as close as Churchill came to discussing the famous so-called "Greek mutiny"—yet, even as he spoke, British soldiers were killing Greeks in Athens streets.

The Greek army and navy "mutiny" occurred in Egypt in the first week of April, 1944. British censorship was clamped down immediately with unprecedented ruthlessness. Twenty-four correspondents protested that they were permitted to make "no comment unless it reflects official [British] policy"; that they were not even allowed "to present any facts, political or otherwise, antecedent to recent troubles." The facts were that the EAM-ELAS Resistance leaders, like those in France, had asked for representation in their exiled government—for a national coalition in which the patriotic fighters in the Greek underground would have a voice.

The EAM had by far the broadest popular following in Greece, and included a small Communist minority among all shades of Leftists, Moderates and Republicans.

By April, 1944, the pressure for a coalition cabinet had grown greatly both inside and outside Greece. London's support of the Greek monarchy, behind British censorship in Egypt, had hardened. The British began secretly weeding out Greek Republican officers from the troops there. Several thousand officers and men, all Republicans, were placed in concentration camps. The directors of the Hellenic League of Liberation and the Greek Seamen's Association were arrested. Finally, Greek army and navy units in Egypt revolted against the British-supervised Royalists' purge.

THE British followed up the "mutiny" with the wholesale jailing of thousands of Republicans in the Greek forces in Egypt. But there had to be something which could be advertised as a Greek army. And Churchill's pro-

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Royalist policy, now more stubbornly fixed than ever, required that such a unit must consist only of reliable Greek monarchists. So the Greek Mountain Brigade was formed—from officers and men hand-picked for their anti-Republican, Royalist convictions. Eventually, the Mountain Brigade was given a brief baptism of fire in Italy, and much ballyhoo about helping to capture Rimini. After Athens was liberated—and after EAM-ELAS Resistance forces had held Athens alone for two days with surprisingly little bloodshed—the British brought in the Mountain Brigade. While demanding that ELAS give up its arms, the Churchill government refused to permit the right-wing Royalist Brigade to do likewise.

How could the Greek leftists and moderate Republicans—those who had indisputably done most of the underground's fighting against the Nazis—be expected to expose themselves to domination by a fully equipped brigade of ardent monarchists? London's blind insistence precipitated the government crisis which deteriorated into civil war on December 3, 1944—with the British-supported Athens police (who had served under the Germans throughout the occupation) firing the first shots and killing women and children.

IT is patently impossible, then, to discuss the Greek civil war, and the persistent political deterioration in Greece ever since, without weighing most carefully the Churchill government's very great responsibility for both the Greek "mutiny" and the creation of the Royalist Mountain Brigade. The introduction of that brigade into the heated, partisan atmosphere of newly liberated Athens was planned and hastened by the Churchill government. The monarchist Brigade's presence touched off the controversy which touched off the civil war.

When Athens was a battleground, in those days of anguish, betrayal and shame, I checked the roles of every faction and important personality concerned. I could reach only one conclusion, but the British ambassador, Sir Reginald Leeper (without the slightest suggestion on my part), made the answer crystal clear. With a satisfied smile, he wound up a long interview with the remark: "I think we have smashed here any chance of a dictatorship of the Left. It will have a big effect in Italy; in France, Belgium and Holland as well. . . ." But the EAM had never proposed a dictatorship. They had only demanded a national coalition government of "all political parties." What the Churchill-Leeper clique obviously sought to prevent in Greece was any kind of popular republican government. The king had to be restored in Athens—even against the unquestioned republicanism of 70 percent or more of the Greek people.

MEANWHILE, the British were kept busy propping up and replacing one incompetent, impossible government after another. On December 4, 1944, the civil war in Athens might have been stopped by formation of a government under the venerable Liberal leader, Themistocles Sophoulis. The other parties, including the leftists, had agreed. From London Churchill turned thumbs down—and the Greeks have been paying in bloodshed ever since. Within a year even Archbishop Damaskinos, whom Ambassador Leeper had conjured up as window-dressing under the title of Regent, got tired of the political stench and British directives—and quit. One after another of the old party leaders, most of them honestly Republican, took on the premiership and soon dropped it as a hopeless job.

By driving the Left into rebellion and by subjugating and splintering all the middle Republican parties, British policy had made it impossible for any Greek government to obtain a real popular support. National elections alone might produce a governable majority. But according to Churchill's policies, the Greek Royalists had to win these elections. When Sophoulis became premier in November, 1945, he made it a condition that the plebiscite on the monarchy would be postponed until March, 1948. That might have given enough time for the Greeks to vote and decide under somewhat normal conditions.

Under British pressure and insistence, the Greek elections were held on March 31, 1946. The number of abstentions totaled approximately 50 percent, while the number of registered voters was inexplicably large. Out of 354 seats the Tsaldaris Royalists were awarded 141 and the pro-Nazi Zervas Nationalists 25. Yet these elections had been boycotted by the Left, and preceded by months of brutal "White Terror" from right-wing roving bands in the towns and villages.

TODAY it is ironic to note that a year and a half after the inept and completely unrepresentative Greek elections—demanded by the British and pushed through on London's insistence—America's government is saddled with a muddled political situation in Greece which those unjustified elections created. The British-imposed elections made Tsaldaris, an oily and astute Royalist, the most powerful politician in Greece. He has now become so powerful that he has formed a one-party government in the face of pronounced opposition from American representatives in Athens.

What began as a plot to bar all leftists from the Greek government and to make Greece a monarchy, whether her people wanted it or not, has crystallized into unqualified domination by the most reactionary and anti-democratic elements in Greece. The middle and most truly democratic parties have been decimated, discredited and demoralized. Churchill's victory is complete—and neatly under-

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written by hundreds of millions of American dollars. It could only be slightly more complete if Hitler or Franco himself had engineered it. Short of new elections (which guerrilla warfare makes almost impossible), Greece has no chance of a government which will command the support of her people.

Although the Sophoulis government appears to be a step away from the most extreme reaction, the Greek people still need a true coalition government. But neither they nor Washington can hope for a real one, which will have popular support, until uncoerced elections can be held. The single consoling political fact about Greece today is that she has been pushed to the Right as far as she can go, without an international explosion.

COLD WAR: No One Is Neutral in the Balkans

by Constantine Poulos

HUNGARY'S recent elections prove one hoary truism: the polarization of Right and Left is fatal to democratic socialism.

The Hungarian Communists did not steal votes from the rightist, reactionary or clerical parties. They stole the votes of the Social Democrats—the only party they really fear, the one party they must eliminate (by force, for the Social Democrats are not the Small Holders) if they are to carry out, in the future, the "grab" which the American press prematurely accused them of making three months ago.

Great-power relations being what they are today, there is no hope for the Hungarian Social Democrats, and little hope for Hungary. Hungary may remain in the "twilight zone" between East and West for a short time longer but the decline to one-party rule is not far off.

Need it have been so? Given Teheran and Yalta, it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. The division of Europe could only have meant eventual polarization.

Europe's postwar democratic proletarian revolutionary wave did not approach the heights of 1917-23. The Anglo-Americans either smothered or stalled it in the West; the Soviet Union "controlled" it in the East.

Our splendid examples (Greece, Italy, Belgium) hastened and "justified" the polarization in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Poland. In the crucial two postwar years that have just ended, the contributions of the Anglo-Americans (Russia's have been enumerated many times) to the polarization in Eastern Europe, although neither recognized nor admitted in the West, were many and disastrous.

THE Anglo-Americans insisted on supporting and encouraging reaction. The Socialists were ignored and insulted. They were certainly not helped by the flood of misguided, sniping little protests from Washington and London attacking the basis of the regimes they had helped to create out of chaos and destruction, and on the debris of decades-old fascism.

Socialist coöperation with the Communists—in countries occupied by the Red Army—was based on good socialist reasons (execution of long overdue social transformations) and with independent democratic aims.

But the Socialists, the liberals and the progressives of Southeastern Europe never had a chance. They were caught in a powerful pincers movement. They believed that by working inside the coalition governments they could forestall an internal conflict along East-West lines. They correctly reasoned that expeditious collaboration with the Communists would not only consolidate the agrarian revolts and ensure the first steps toward a planned economy, but that it would also prevent a civil war that could only end either in Communist bureaucratic totalitarian rule or in counter-revolution.

None of this was ever understood by the Anglo-Americans, who persisted in dealing only with the dispossessed ruling classes, the landowners, the monopolists, the Catholic Church and the aristocracy.

In the cases of the Mickolajczyks, the Petkovs and the Nagys, who wanted to be independent of Moscow, the Anglo-Americans compromised them by amateurish, senseless intervention. And as these honest men were drawn more tightly into the Anglo-American embrace, they learned to rely solely on their Western backers.

The basis of their opposition to the Communists became Anglo-American support, and soon they were fighting it out only on that level rather than on concrete, progressive policies and programs which might have aroused the workers and peasants fed up with Communist bureaucracy and brutality. Gradually, as was natural, they even revised some of their more progressive ideas in order better to fit Anglo-American conceptions of social and economic reform.

IT was not too difficult for the Communists to exaggerate the identity of the West with capitalism, reaction and counter-revolution. The American representatives on the spot in the crucial two years—Lane in Poland, Patterson in Yugoslavia, Barnes in Bulgaria and Steinhardt in Czechoslovakia—were the best allies of the Communists. Naïvely closing their eyes to the impossibility of resurrecting capitalism in Eastern Europe, they tried to defend a cause dead and buried in that part of the world long before the war.

When the honest opposition leaders permitted themselves to be used by the Anglo-Americans and the dishonest opposition leaders aligned themselves with the side they figured would win the next war, the Communists had only to hold up (and embroider just a bit) the threat of a Western-supported restoration of the old order.

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(It happened before. Remember Hungary and Bulgaria after the last war.)

Since he was made to feel that these were the only available alternatives, the worker and the peasant naturally turned his face to the East. It is not unsignificant that in Yugoslavia, where the East v. West theme is most pronounced, there is now a strong, widespread anti-US feeling and an upsurge in the popularity of the Tito regime.

The sharpening of the international struggle has just about destroyed what hope there might have been for the democratic socialist evolution of Eastern Europe. Russia's spring offensive in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria is perfectly understandable. It has been said over and over again that the Soviet Union has expanded imperialistically in Eastern Europe in order to supply its own economic needs. True. But, the order of the day is the preparation for the conflict, and the Soviet

Union must have neighboring governments it can trust all down the line.

There has been much talk in the major capitals during the past two years about "averting the division." To the average person in Eastern Europe it seemed that everything was being done to speed the division, and that he was being forced to stand up every day and declare himself either for the Soviet Union or the Anglo-Americans; and since March 12, it is either "with the Soviet Union or the Americans."

Once, as recently as twelve months ago, there were voices in Eastern Europe which said: "He who wants to make our country a member state of the Soviet Union is a traitor. He who wants to restore the old order in our country is a traitor. And he who wants to make our people believe that our country is confronted with nothing but these two alternatives is twice a traitor."

The same voices went further: "There *is* a third way: Our country, independent and democratic, pursuing a balanced, radical-reform policy."

These voices are no longer being heard. The Soviet Union would brook no nonsense about democracy and independence; the Anglo-Americans would have nothing to do with radical reforms. The voices have been silenced by the heavy hand from the East and the growing rumble from the West.

COLD WAR: Two Police States in Korea

by Mark Gayn

IN A flurry of harsh words and angry faces, the US-Soviet talks on the fate of Korea have come to an impasse. A variety of proposals has been aired since, but the only certainty at this point is that Korea remains potentially one of the most dangerous points of friction between us and Russia.

Even if the two powers could come to terms, the hour for the merger seems already past. Competent observers agree that if we and the Russians left tomorrow, Korea would be swept by a civil war within weeks. In this conflict, it is felt, the Russian-backed forces would win, not because of a larger army or better weapons, but because of the reforms which—whatever the methods used to enforce them—have won popular backing.

The tragic truth about Korea is that both we and the Russians have employed irreconcilables and extremists. What middle-of-the-road elements remained have either been swallowed by the extremes or else painfully eliminated. The result has been a disastrous polarization of Korean life into Right and Left.

In their zone, the Russians never set up a Military Government. Instead, they have operated through a Communist-dominated political bloc. On a brief trip north of the 38th Parallel, I found nearly every wall decorated with portraits of Kim Il Sung, the Russian-trained guerrilla leader, and Joseph Stalin.

But it was also this bloc that distributed more than 2.5 million acres of land among 750,000 sharecroppers and poor farmers, enforced an eight-hour labor day in the factories, made education compulsory, and established a form of social insurance.

In our zone, we originally placed all our chips on Syngman Rhee, a reactionary politician who had spent nearly 40 of his 76 years in exile. Rhee was brought to Seoul in October, 1945, in a US Army plane, and was unveiled to the Koreans on a reviewing stand beside Lieutenant General John R. Hodge. After that, Rhee and his American associates went to work packing the Military Government and the police with his followers. General Hodge's own Korean interpreter, factotum and adviser was Rhee's disciple.

When the State Department realized that Rhee's political intransigence precluded all hope of peace in our zone, orders went to General Hodge to look for a more moderate politician. The choice fell on Kimm Kiu Sic, an American-educated teacher, Bible salesman and moderate rightist. But neither Hodge nor Kimm realized the extent of Rhee's influence. In an election scheduled to yield a majority for Kimm, Rhee romped away with 40 of the 45 elective seats in the new Interim Legislative Assembly. Kimm bitterly complained to me of fraud and police terror. But complaints were futile. New elections were held in a few areas. Machiavellian wire-pulling established a fictitious balance between Rhee and Kimm. But the fact remains

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that Rhee, through the unconcealed sympathy of many high American officers, and his employment of terrorism, has become the strongest man in our zone.

Rhee lives in a mansion put at his disposal by a man who made munitions for the Japanese. Rhee's financial angel is Kum Sung Soo, who once urged young Koreans conscripted by the Japanese to die for "your fatherland." These friendships are significant. They mirror Rhee's philosophy as a champion of the status quo, a spokesman for the landlord, a foe of social change and land reform. "Rhee," an astute American told me, "is a pure Bourbon —two centuries before Fascism."

THE crux of the Korean problem—as it is of China's—is land ownership. Four out of every five farmers in Korea rent all or part of their land. Three out of every four farmers are in debt. In their zone, the Russians met the problem squarely—if often harshly. In our zone, a mild reform plan drafted by the able Dr. Arthur Bunce, the State Department representative, was scuttled by a coalition of US officers and Rhee's henchmen. Since then, every method of official skulduggery has been employed to delay reform. When Major General Archer Lerch, Military Governor, was urged to adopt the land reform already introduced in Japan, he flatly declared, "That's communism. I won't have it."

The police force in our zone today is larger than it was under the Japanese. Most of the key personnel has been inherited from the Japanese: of the nine provincial chiefs of police, eight won their spurs tracking down Korean patriots, and of 140 police officers with the rank of captain or better, more than 110 had served under the Japanese.

Army censorship, indirect but effective, has done its best to suppress reports of unrest and wholesale arrests. It took a Soviet broadside last month to produce General Hodge's admission that a new police round-up had taken place. But how many Americans know of the vast peasant uprisings of last fall, or of such obscure towns as Taegu, where more than 3,000 Koreans have been court-martialed by the US Army?

Our standard practice has been to blame "outside agitators." But a careful inquiry made by another correspondent and myself showed that, with the exception of a few local intellectuals, all the rioters had been local workers and sharecroppers, who had had enough of police repression, high land rents and rice collection, accompanied by colossal police graft.

The police are but part of a wider pattern. Three hundred thousand militiamen are being trained by the Russians. Much has been said about them; but almost no mention has been made of the huge constabulary we are training in our own zone; of the private terrorist armies maintained by virtually every rightist leader (Rhee's "troops" are estimated at 200,000); or of the incredible Korean National Youth Movement, which claims 70,000 members. Operating with US Army equipment, on a grant of five million yen from General Lerch, and with a US Army colonel from the Internal Security Department as an adviser, this force is being trained unmistakably for a civil war—and, significantly, for strike-breaking.

North of the dividing line, the Russians have set up an army. The Communists, under one label or another, hold the power. Close to 750,000 people—mostly landlords, former policemen, shopkeepers or officeholders under the Japanese—have fled from North Korea to our zone.

But more than one Korean has told me that he could not see how the conditions in the Russian zone could justify the creation of a police state in ours. And fully as many American officials voiced their concern over the growing abyss between us and the Koreans. (One public-opinion poll in Seoul showed that 49 percent of the Koreans think the Americans are worse than the Japanese.)

As things stand today, we have disastrously muffed our chance in Korea. As in most other points of friction with Russia, we appear to have forgotten that social and political reforms, rather than bullets and jails, are democracy's most effective weapons. Only the blind —and the Army Command in Seoul is among them—fail to see that our blunders are losing for us the psychological battle for Korea.

COLD WAR: The "German Problem" Is Easy

by Edd Johnson

AFTER a VIP's tour of Germany in April, 1946, Walter Lippmann returned home and wrote that both the Soviet Union and the Western Allies in Germany were acting as if they were preparing for war.

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Many of us correspondents who had been working in Germany since V-E Day were shocked and disgusted at that. I, for one, considered it yellow journalism. Except for the professional viewers-with-alarm, none of the correspondents who had been covering events in Germany saw sufficient signs of East-West strife to justify any such hysterical conclusion. I think Lippmann interviewed few, if any, Russians and he certainly saw no British or American officials with whom we of the press corps were not in close contact. There is no reason to believe that those he did see told him anything they had been withholding from all of us.

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What Lippmann knew and we of the Berlin press corps didn't know was the thinking that was going on in Washington in that first year of peace. What Lippmann wrote was not true when he wrote it. But his writing it helped to make it true.

When I left Germany last winter, there were still no overt signs of discord between Americans and Russians on the scene. So far as the directives of their respective governments would permit them, the Military Governors were making headway in the joint chore of demilitarizing, de-industrializing, de-nazifying and democratizing Germany.

On the higher levels, though, there were differences of opinion on these issues:

Boundaries: Quite unexpectedly, Secretary of State Byrnes had served notice that the United States might consider restoring to Germany parts of Silesia and Pomerania that had been ceded to Poland. But he hadn't said so definitely, and the Russians therefore hadn't answered.

The Russians did answer, with some heat, Byrnes's suggestion that the German Saar should be ceded to France. They said they would never approve any such transfer unless it were in accordance with the will of the people involved. We thought it ill behooved them to be so idealistic about the Saar after the transmigrations they had approved in the East.

REPARATIONS: In an effort to force the French to withdraw their veto of all efforts to carry out the Potsdam agreement for the administration of Germany as an economic unit, General Lucius D. Clay, US Military Governor, had stopped all shipment of reparations from the American zone. Since the Russians and Poles together were entitled only to 25 percent of such reparations, with the understanding that they would pay in raw materials for 15 of the 25 percent, Clay's order was hardly an anti-Russian move, even though it was so represented (to Clay's surprise, he told me) in the American press.

The Russians were taking finished goods as reparations out of their zone, and we objected to that on the grounds that the products of German industry, under the Potsdam agreement, were supposed to go "in the first instance" toward payment for needed imports. The Russians argued that the Yalta agreement guaranteed them $10 billion of reparations from Germany, and that the Potsdam agreement's preface specified that it was subsidiary to the Yalta agreement.

Bizonia: Since the French (but not the Russians) had vetoed all efforts to administer Germany as an economic whole, the British and Americans had decided on the economic merger of their two western zones. The Russians considered this a move toward the final separation of Germany. We assured them there were no political implications, and invited them to join "Bizonia." They refused.

POLITICAL Activity: The Russians persuaded the Communist and Social Democratic Parties to merge into the Sozialistische Einheits Partei (SED), but the Americans charged the merger was a shotgun wedding. It was, but the German electorate ratified it by giving the SED a plurality in a series of elections. The Russians claimed that we played footie with the Catholic rightist parties, containing many Nazi sympathizers, to the detriment of left-wing parties. We did, but the German electorate ratified our choice, too.

There were scores of little disagreements. Once, in complete disregard of a joint agreement, we kidnaped two Russian NKVD (secret police) in Berlin on the word of a German girl who said they had tried to get her to spy on us, and the Russians had held two Americans, who wandered illegally into their zone, until the NKVD men were released. During the early days of the occupation, the front-line troops in Berlin fired many nocturnal shots in joy and in pique. I think the score for the first four months was 17 to 9 in our favor —that is, we winged almost twice as many Russians as they did Americans. There were arguments over food distribution and coal. But they all came out in the wash.

What has happened, since the winter, to schismatize Germany and leave an ugly, uneconomic and hopeless-seeming division between East and West that seems in a fair way to become permanent?

Why is the United States so high-handedly ignoring the Potsdam agreement and proceeding to set up, or try to set up, a British-French-American regime in western Germany?

I think the answer has nothing whatever to do with the problem of Germany itself, and not very much to do with the need to exploit Germany's resources for the benefit of the whole of Europe.

General Clay gave me an inkling to one part of the answer many months ago, when we were discussing the rather poor press his Military Government was getting at home.

"I could be praised on the front pages of American newspapers any day," he said rather sourly. "All I'd have to do would be let loose a blast against the Russians."

One of his subsidiary officers put it another way when he said: "You know, I can tell by the headlines in the *Stars and Stripes* each morning how my negotiations are going to proceed that day with my Russian opposite number. If there's a fight on over Greece or Trieste, my Russian friend in Berlin will be very hard to deal with. But if, for a few days, things seem to be going peaceably, he'll be right pleasant and tractable."

I'll never forget the ugly end of a party held in the Russian-zone city of Weimar for us correspondents in March, 1946. Breakfast had been a jolly meal because some of us Americans said we thought rather poorly of Winston Churchill's speech in Ful-

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ton, Missouri, denouncing the Soviet regime and calling for a worldwide alliance against it. But at the banquet that night, I dared suggest that I also thought it below the dignity of Generalissimo Stalin to answer Churchill's speech in the world press.

One Russian officer flared up with: "Your President was sitting beside Churchill and applauded when he got through speaking." Another cried out: "The Soviet Union is too big to have to suffer insults from such a man as Churchill."

There was one more farewell toast, but the party was spoiled and for the remainder of our 10-day stay in the Russian zone, the subject of international politics was scrupulously avoided by all of us.

I DON'T suggest these incidents were the reason for the developments of the "cold war" between the Russians and us. They are, in my opinion, more to the point of the present polarization, however, than any of the more widely publicized shootings, kidnapings or boundary disputes. Germany is divided into an Eastern colony of the Soviet Union and a bridgehead of American nineteenth-century capitalism because the power politicians in Washington and in Moscow want it that way more than they want it some other way that might require them to compromise a little.

It has been fashionable to say that the solution of the German problem lies at the heart of the peace. Actually General Clay and Marshal Sokolovsky could settle all outstanding problems of Germany between them any afternoon.

It isn't the German problem, but the American and the Russian problem *that is disturbing the peace of the world.*

COLD WAR: Italy Has Made an Uneasy Choice

by Percy Winner

LAST June, Alcide de Gasperi, leader of the Church-supported Christian Democratic Party, announced to reporters in the courtyard of Rome's Palazzo Giustiniani that he would form an Italian government without Communists.

The day before, de Gasperi had conferred with US Ambassador James C. Dunn. The day afterward, de Gasperi announced the creation of a government composed exclusively of Christian Democrats and right-wing independents.

The ousting of the Communists was one of the most fateful Italian political acts since Mussolini, in May, 1939, made Fascist Italy a military pawn of Hitler's Reich through the "Pact of Steel." For it made of Republican Italy an economic dependent of the US. It also gave victory, at least temporarily, to the West in a duel with the East, that had begun even before the start of World War II and the fall of fascism.

De Gasperi had hoped to retain a sort of coalition government by keeping several representatives of moderate leftist parties. No one of these parties would permit a member to join a government without the Communists. But Dunn had communicated the wishes of Washington—and in a country dependent upon US economic aid, Washington's desire prevailed. Some of the principal results of the ousting of the Communists were:

1. Italy was given a government which definitely did not represent the forces which created the republic, and which did not represent a majority of the Italian people.

2. Italy abandoned her postwar hope to steer a neutral course between West and East—a hope based on fear that her soil might be part of the battleground of a third world war.

3. Impetus was given to the already developing division of Italy into two sharply defined restless factions of Left and Right; chances of developing a strong, independent and truly democratic Center decreased; the possibility of open civil war had to be taken into account.

4. De Gasperi was dependent in the Constitutional Assembly on the support of the reactionary far Right, thus giving fascism a rebirth of hope if not life.

5. The ousted Communists, who, with their political allies, control half of Italy's votes, may use the present government as a precedent, ousting all but leftists friendly to communism if and when they return to power.

THE origin of the present West-East duel goes back a dozen years. De Gasperi's role as the successful champion of the West is particularly important. As head of the Christian Democratic Party, he has a legacy from Don Luigi Sturzo's Popolari, the clerical centrist party of the pre-Fascist epoch. Thus, he speaks not only for the Rome of the Republic but also for the Rome of the Holy See. His victory also was a victory for politicians in London and Washington who sought in Fascist days to mobilize Church influence in support of the West. To do this, Sir Francis D'Arcy Godolphin Osborne was sent to the Vatican in January, 1936, and Myron Taylor in December, 1939.

The political aspect of the duel became clearer in 1942 when London and Washington plainly showed that they considered the Mediterranean an Anglo-American sphere. Some believed we chose to invade Italy rather than chance a cross-channel operation in order to create a West-dominated counterweight to the East-dominated Tito regime in Yugoslavia.

In 1943 the US took its stand openly by accepting as successor to Mussolini, Marshal Badoglio, the man

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King Victor Emmanuel had appointed Duke of Addis Ababa for his services to Fascist Italy in the Ethiopian war.

Even before the fall of Mussolini, the British and Americans had relied heavily on rightist elements in Italy and in Vatican City. After Mussolini's fall, the US continued its support of the forces of "law and order" which Badoglio and the King were supposed to represent. AMG policy openly favored reactionary elements in the liberated areas, as the Allied lines moved slowly northward.

To counter these influences, the Communists worked hard to dominate the partisan fighters who were carrying out the major share of the activity against the Germans and Fascists. Especially in the north, the partisan movement was largely Communist-controlled. In retaliation, AMG forced each partisan unit to disband, and to turn in its arms as each area was liberated. These partisan fighters were not permitted to play any part in the new political life.

The Soviet Union came upon the Italian scene openly, and the real West-East duel began in the late winter of 1943-44. Badoglio and the King were in power, supported by the US and Great Britain. The six parties of the Italian Committee of National Liberation demanded the removal of the Marshal and the abdication of the King. Instead, late in February, Badoglio formed a revised cabinet of "experts." The six parties, with the Communists in the van, denounced the cabinet, and voted not to participate. The vote at a Communist mass meeting in Naples was unanimous.

THEN, in the middle of March, Moscow threw a political bombshell. Entering the area of hard, practical politics, the Soviet Union announced the official recognition of Badoglio. Less than a fortnight later, the Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti returned from the Soviet Union, where he had lived in exile for 18 years under the combat name, Ercole. Soon after his arrival, he announced that the Communist Party was willing to drop the abdication issue for the duration of the war and to participate in a coalition government under Badoglio. The Communist leadership calmly accepted this *volte-face* and the other five anti-fascist parties eventually agreed to enter the government, too.

Since 1944 the Communists have built their political strength by successfully exploiting the misery of a defeated people, and by a careful, intelligent program of reconstruction which even the frostiest reactionary could not afford to ignore. Washington did not fully meet their challenge until the Communists and their Socialist allies won one-third of the 24 million votes in the June, 1946, election.

Since then the US has moved into the offensive. In January, de Gasperi made a 10-day visit to Washington. On his return to Rome, he made his first effort to oust the Communists, and failed. In June, he succeeded. By then it was plain that Washington, using both political and economic power, was going all-out to try to make Italy a bulwark against Soviet expansion to the Mediterranean, and that Moscow was willing to go far to build a protective flank for the Soviet-dominated Balkans.

THE de Gasperi government has been in power for three months and has not appreciably weakened Communist strength. Although it has tightened law enforcement and strengthened Italy's economy, it has failed to cope with the really serious economy problem—inflation—despite US loans and other support. The Soviet's opposition to Italy's application for UN membership, and the Soviet's belated ratification of the Italian treaty have not helped Moscow's prestige. On the other hand, US domination of de Gasperi and his failure to solve pressing problems have not helped Washington's either.

Drawings by Stefanelli

Everyone in Italy agrees that the victory of the US may not be final. Many observers pose questions about the future. They ask whether the Italian Communist Party and its allied leftist parties can be kept out of office without destroying the chances for democracy in Italy. Together, these parties represent half the voters in the country. Possibly, they represent well over half the total population. If, to serve the ends of intricate political tactics, this mass of voters is disenfranchised, Italy, to all practical intents and purposes, is living under a non-democratic, non-representative regime. A precedent is created under the republic which has disquieting resemblances to the situation under the Fascist monarchy. Such a precedent could be invoked by some future dictatorship of the Right or of the Left. Moreover, even now, the example of the de Gasperi government tends to nullify the efforts to win the people away from their Fascist past and to educate them in their democratic future.

There are other questions, too. If Communist influence maintains itself, perhaps even grows, despite US dollars, what will happen to the US position if the Communists and their allies win the free election scheduled for next spring? Can the US afford such a defeat in its worldwide duel with the Soviets, after having made the Italian political lineup a major issue? On the other hand, can the US afford to take steps, open or secret, to prevent or delay a free election? Finally, if the Communist effort to win political power legally is frustrated by anything the US does or connives at, would the US be ready to back the anti-Communist and anti-Left elements in the civil war that might follow?

Such questions—there are many others like them in the minds of Italians—present the simple hard realities of the ideological war between the US and the Soviet Union as it shapes up, ever more bitterly and dangerously, in Italy.

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Broadcasters Have Big Ears

by Saul Carson

Their programs may not sound like it, but the big radio networks are sensitive to your criticism—they know the air is yours

SOMETHING like 107 million Americans are directly concerned in the doings of a convention that will assemble September 15 at Atlantic City. It's the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the National Association of Broadcasters.

You, as one of radio's 107 million listeners, own the airways. By law, they are yours. The Federal Communications Commission has licensed on your behalf 1,320 AM radio stations. And if you think the licensees don't care what you think about the way they are using your airways, you are mistaken. Broadcasting does care. Radio scares easily. All you have to do, as a listener, is to talk back—not only in the passive manner of dialing out, but in dynamic ways that are open to you. If you don't—if you insist on leaving the field to the broadcasters who are supposed to be your servants—you are compounding the error committed at the very beginning of radio, when listeners abdicated in favor of experts.

Early in radio's history, one such expert predicted that ". . . the quickest way to kill broadcasting would be to use it for direct advertising. . . . If a speech by the President is to be used as the meat in a sandwich of two patent-medicine advertisements, there will be no radio left."

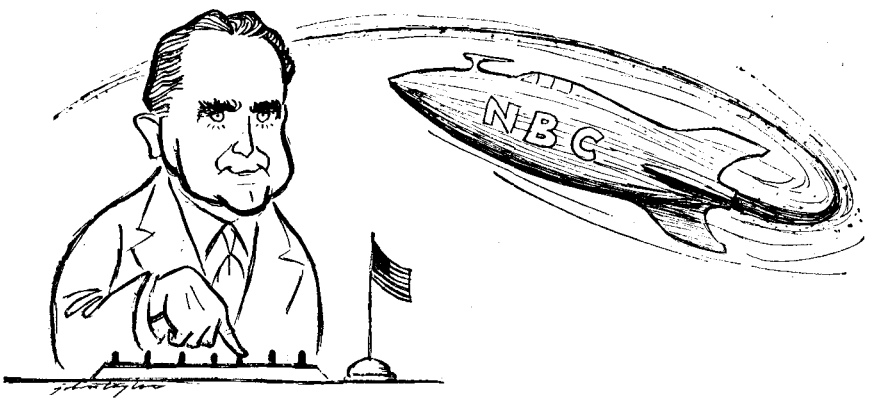
It was Herbert Hoover who voiced that prophecy. The year was 1924; he was Secretary of Commerce. An obsolete act of Congress had saddled him with responsibility for supervision of this monstrous child, Radio. Hoover tried hard to understand this new medium. With the backing of men like David Sarnoff (the present chairman of the board of Radio Corporation of America, which owns the National Broadcasting Company), Hoover actually succeeded in getting a statement from the fourth of his annual radio conferences, in 1925, "deprecating" the use of radio for direct advertising.

But the idea immediately began to wear thin. In 1929, when the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) drew up a code of practices, direct advertising was fully sanctioned for broadcasters using the air in the daytime. (The code still spoke nice words about evening hours being consecrated "to recreation and relaxation" and therefore dedicated to freedom from commercial announcements "as the term is generally understood.")

That same year, Sarnoff's own NBC, then three years old, published a slick-paper, advertising-promotion piece that failed to distinguish between daytime and nighttime programming. NBC proudly quoted from the words of the executive secretary of the American Association of Advertising Agencies: "We welcome Radio as a great new medium, greater than any we have known before."

Mainly because you, the listener, didn't care—Hoover's doleful knell has become a joke. The jeans of the NAB people crowding Atlantic City this month are ajingle with real money: in 1946, radio's gross revenue came to $435 million. Not mirrors but advertising did the trick, the largest share of it "direct" advertising, booked, sold and programmed by the four coast-to-coast broadcasters. A total of 973 of the 1,320 local, standard radio stations on the air in the US as of August 1, 1947 (not including FM radio), are affiliates of these four broadcasting organizations: NBC, Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), Mutual Broadcasting System, and American Broadcasting Company (ABC).

This ranking of the networks is in the order of their birth. NBC was founded in 1926, CBS in 1927 and Mutual in 1934. As for ABC, it is the old "Blue" network, NBC's lean stepchild which was fed the leavings after the fatter "Red" web had been provisioned with the best affiliate station



Drawings by John Taylor

NILES TRAMMELL DIRECTS HIGH-FLYING NBC

Saul Carson is the New Republic's *radio columnist. His regular column will be resumed next week.*

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locations, highest transmission wattages and most profitable business. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) ordered severance, which became a fact in 1942 when the "Blue" entered separate corporate existence.

The top people of these networks are: Niles Trammell, president of NBC; William S. Paley, chairman of the board of CBS; Edgar Kobak, president of Mutual; and Edward J. Noble, chairman of ABC's board.

Halo wired for sound

TRAMMELL is the personification of NBC, a cold, super-efficient, streamlined, powerful, highly profitable corporation. But he wears a halo, and its name is PICAN. PICAN may be put on only between 11:30 p.m. and midnight, or Saturdays at 8 a.m., but it's worn often enough to keep dust off.

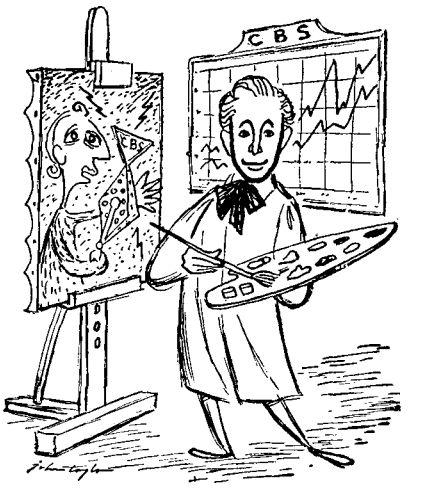
PICAN is shorthand for the "public interest, convenience and necessity" which the Communications Act requires all radio to serve. Thanks to both the FCC's vigilance in administering that law and to the fact that a large corporation entering the intimacy of your home must watch its public relations, PICAN is an absolute necessity for a network like NBC. It's PICAN, therefore, that has brought you such excellent programs of the past as "Words at War" and "Pacific Story" and brings you now the "University of the Air," Arturo Toscanini with the NBC Orchestra, "The Eternal Light" and "Chicago Round Table." PICAN is responsible for NBC's comprehensive news coverage.

Yet noteworthy as are PICAN's accomplishments, it failed to save the skins of liberal commentators Robert St. John, John Vandercook and Don Goddard, all of whom were fired by NBC. And it was cold, commercial reckoning that let NBC news and special events practically ignore the United Nations under its nose, tossing day-to-day "public-service" coverage of the UN into the lap of New York City's non-commercial, poorly budgeted but miraculously enterprising station, WNYC. Yes, the halo is there—but business is business, preferably Big Business and its interests. To these Niles Trammell is dedicated and with him NBC.

CBS is Paley. Not that it's a one-man operation, but Paley's influence goes beyond controlling voting stock. CBS, and its highly competent staff, reflect Paley in every respect. He is an esthetic young man on a flying trapeze; but he'll never break his neck, because he wears a safety belt—spun of finest gold. CBS is, like Paley, the Successful Artist Conscious of His Mission. As an artist, CBS understands esthetics, but success is important. Solvency is looked upon as a measure of success. And solvency demands compromise. CBS takes pride in having discovered, nurtured and given broad freedom to Norman Corwin. The network values the reputation of having given birth to the old "CBS Workshop" and Orson Welles's "Mercury Theatre," of broadcasting the New York Philharmonic, of building the currently successful CBS Documentary Unit, of putting on—at least over the net's New York outlet (WCBS)—a hard-hitting show like the weekly "CBS Views the Press." But the formula Success equals Solvency has brought the compromise which gives CBS (along with NBC) its half-share for the blame and blight of soap opera. The defense rests.

Clashing prima donnas

KOBAK of Mutual *does* run a one-man operation. There are economic reasons for this state of affairs, in addition to the fact that Kobak fits the role. Mutual is owned by a number of big broadcasters, each of whom is a prima donna in his own right. Among them are: Colonel Robert McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune,* who runs Station WGN; the Straus family that controls R. H. Macy in New York and also owns Station WOR; the Don Lee Network, on the Pacific Coast, which is absentee-owned by someone whose name really is Don Lee but who never appears in person, even the FCC having failed to smoke the man out. (Recently, the Don Lee manager, Lewis Allen Weiss, considered by some people the most reactionary man in American radio, was elected chairman of the Mutual board.) The



CBS IS PALEY

many strong personalities among Mutual's directors needed one man to hold them together. They found him when they got Kobak, a strong man and *the* salesman of radio.

The other networks make money not only by selling network time but also by operating local radio stations. Having no stations of its own—being, instead, the property of its biggest affiliates—Mutual had to make money in other ways. It needed a network covering as much geographical territory as possible. Since the other networks already had signed the most powerful stations, Mutual went after the little ones. The big fellows lifted their noses, but Kobak lined up the 250-watt coffeepot in Vernal, Utah, and the 100-watt peanut-whistle in Palestine, Texas.

Kobak's running gag, when he acts his ingratiating role as banquet emcee at trade gatherings, concerns the number of his affiliates. He will stop in the middle of a serious discussion, yank a telegram out of his pocket, and announce deadpan: "Mutual has just signed up its five hundredth affiliate; it's a sound truck." Actually, he has built the number of Mutual's affiliates to 384—as against NBC's 160, CBS's 168, and ABC's 261.

Thus Kobak can deliver to Feenamint or Carter's Little Liver Pills grass-roots coverage that reaches into America's hinterland. The kind of programming he provides is something else, largely a matter of business. That programming has the

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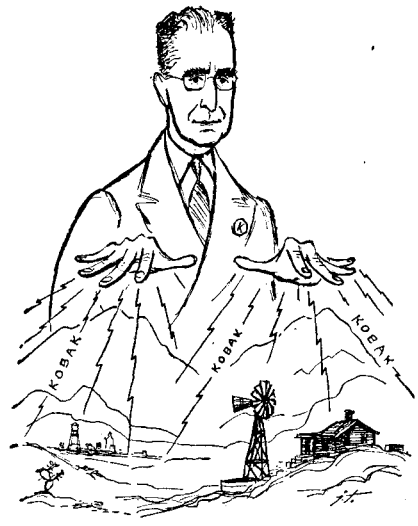

KOBAK GOT HIS NETWORK

strength, and the weakness, of Kobak's affiliates in places like Gadsden, Alabama, and Nampa, Idaho. As long as a sponsor pays, and listening surveys indicate interest, Kobak will book and air the snarl of Fulton Lewis Jr. and even the viciousness of Upton Close. But for the same reasons, Kobak will keep Fiorello H. LaGuardia on the air if a few branches of the Farmers' Union are willing to fork up the costs or if Yankton, South Dakota, continues to tune to the Little Flower.

Kobak will give PICAN its due, but he is proudest of the fact that he accomplished the first part of his job—building a network. On a wall in the anteroom to his New York office, he has framed a layout of *Variety,* the show-business weekly. Plastered across the page are three *Variety* headlines, run in three successive years, reading respectively: "Kobak's Gotta Have a Network"; "Kobak's Gonna Have a Network"; "Ed Kobak's Got a Network." All three headlines are true.

Million-dollar satisfaction

NOBLE at ABC is the only one of the four network heads who cannot, alone, be used as the criterion for measuring his organization's programming. That's because he is a newcomer to the field.

Originally, his ambition was to go to West Point; then, to own a newspaper or two. Somehow, neither came true. Instead Ed Noble satisfied himself as best he could by accumulating several million dollars as chairman of the board of Life Savers' Corporation and president of Standard Industries, Inc. But he wanted to do "public service." He became, successively (under FDR), chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority; Undersecretary of Commerce; and a member of the Industrial Advisory Committee of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

The novelty of "public service" having worn off, he looked around for other fields—some might call them hobbies. He found one in radio. He cut his radio teeth as owner of WMCA, one of the better local stastations in New York. When the FCC forced NBC to put the "Blue" network on the block, Noble divested himself of WMCA (at a neat profit) and headed a syndicate (including Henry R. Luce) that purchased the "Blue."

Keeper of the PICAN

NOBLE recognized from the start of his network operation that he was a tyro in radio, and gave a lot of leeway to his executives. The ABC president is Mark Woods, who learned the value of a dollar the hard way through jobs as bookkeeper, accountant and office manager. The executive vice-president and keeper of PICAN is Robert E. Kintner, a smart, urbane, young newspaperman who learned the facts of politics and life as a Washington correspondent. If you take Woods and Kintner and add to them the frustrations of a rich man who would like, sincerely, to shine as a public benefactor, you have a profile of ABC. You understand why the network, despite its lack of soap opera, is no better in the daytime hours than NBC or CBS. You understand why ABC is trying so hard to build comedy and variety shows that might come somewhere near competing with NBC's virtually monopolistic hold on that front. And you see also why ABC put on shows like "Hiroshima," programs like "World Security Workshop," documentaries like "Slums" and "Teachers," sponsored inspirations like "The Greatest Story Ever Told" and "Theatre Guild on the Air."

Considered as a group, the networks, with all their faults, present most of the best in radio. That best isn't very impressive. The evidence can be adduced by studying the combined logs of all four networks and counting the number of hours per week of "good" programming. (Among good programs, at this point, we shall not differentiate between the great documentaries or fine symphony orchestras, and such popular items as NBC's stack of Sunday-night and Tuesday-night comedians. We must use a broad gauge here, accepting a show as "good" when it isn't offensive, whether it is sponsored by an advertiser or given free air time on a network.)

Even with such a generous lumping, we find that the networks, all together, broadcast merely 55 to 60 hours of good programming a week—only a fraction more than 12 percent of their total combined air time. And even that lowly 12 percent is misleadingly lenient. For one thing, many of the good shows compete against one another. Still more important, most Americans don't tune in even the best programs. On the Tuesday nights last winter when Bob Hope on NBC and Norman Corwin on CBS were fighting for attention at the same hour, more than two-thirds of the 28 million families which own approximately 34.8 million home radio receivers were listening to neither.

Badly beaten figure

IF you go a little further and distinguish between programs that are broadcast by the networks and those that actually reach the public via local stations, the 12-percent figure takes a complete licking. Many of the good programs are public-service sustainers sent out by the networks at hours when local stations do not have to carry them. According to an FCC survey, the networks did what might be called a satisfactory job during the five-month period of world crisis between January 1 and May 31, 1941; each of the four networks broadcast, during those months, at least one public-service show every third day devoted to such vital issues as lend-lease and shipment of food to countries blockaded by

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Britain. But what did the affiliates do with these shows?

Here are the figures, as shown by the FCC's breakdown: the important network shows were ignored by 65.5 percent of NBC's affiliates (including, then, both the "Red" and the "Blue" networks), 54.5 percent of Mutual's stations, 40.7 percent of the outlets in CBS's stable. "Even more significant," said the FCC, "are the figures relating to non-network programs. Of 842 stations reporting, only 388 claimed to have originated even one program on any subject relevant to this study. The remaining 454 denied having broadcast a single non-network program on foreign policy during the entire five-month period." The figures are not invalidated by the fact that they are more than six years old: there is considerably less social consciousness among radio stations today, even among the networks.

100 out of 1,320

THE FCC's black picture of local station programming can be brightened somewhat. Of New York City's 12 independent, non-network stations, eight are good, making the big town the best radio center in the country. Of these, four (WMCA, WNEW, WNYC, WQXR) rate with the very best in the land. About 20 stations around the country, owned or controlled by the networks, earn marks from good to excellent. Fifty more local stations (independents and net affiliates as well) fall into the same category. Add these 78 stations to the networks' four key outlets in New York, throw in a dozen or so for good measure—and you have in the entire US a total of no more than 100 good radio stations—100 out of 1,320. It's among those local stations, more than 1,200 of them, that the situation is very sad.

Not only the independents, but the network affiliates, too, are among the sinners. One small-town broadcaster who runs a 250-watt station which cost $40,000 to establish, nets a profit averaging $8,400 a year—after paying himself an $8,000 salary. The entire cost of operating the station is met by two news programs and two and a half solid hours of disk jockeying every morning, interspersed of course with all the spot announcements the manager can sell. Everything else, including the relatively small sums the station gets from its network, is velvet.

What does this station manager do by way of PICAN? He is proud of the fact that "any farmer in three surrounding counties can get a free announcement on the air when he's lost a cow." The station also broadcasts the high school's spelling bees, home football games, and more important assemblies, including commencement exercises. But for the rest—the manager piles in all the recorded shows he can buy cheapest, and all the spot announcements, jingles, local advertising and national brand-name ballyhoo the traffic will bear. When his network runs a good sustaining program, he cuts it off the air if he can sell even five minutes of that half-hour to an advertiser, filling the rest of the time with records.

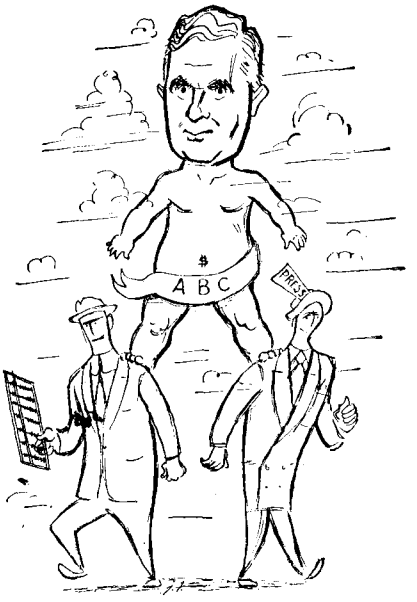
This station's operations may not be typical. Nor is another local station typical because it has won a *Variety* award or some other coveted kudos for an excellent piece of programming. Often you will find that the station deliberately built that good show—perhaps a total of 13 half-hours a year—as an award entry. But it's what this station did the rest of the year that counts. Nor can you accept as exoneration the fact that local stations around the country, many of them independents, have been first to discover famous radio stars or first to build fine program formats. It's very likely that these good jobs were done by the stations among the top 100; if that's not the case, then the notable achievement was an accident resulting from sharp business practice. For that's what the vast majority of these local stations are—centers of sharp business practice to whom PICAN means nothing.

Conservative people in the trade will insist that these indictments can be pinned only on about a third of the local stations. That means about 400, and is a big enough stain on local radio's blotter. Right now, there is a revolt being fanned among NBC affiliates. Do you think they are demanding more and better sustainers from their network? No, they are kicking because NBC's new program vice-president has tried to make the affiliates a bit more responsible to listeners' feelings by ruling that too many plugs cannot be run together between programs.

Some good packages

WHAT can you, as a listener, do about all this? First, accept certain conditions as they are, because they will not change unless the United States changes not only its economic system but also its cultural make-up. Admit to yourself, even if it hurts, that there *are* many people who like soap opera, just as there are many readers of comic books. As for government control and programming of radio, well, if most Americans liked the sort of thing the British get from their BBC, American advertisers probably would produce that kind of program. There isn't much you can do about the use of commercial announcements in the middle of shows, either. Advertising mores are pretty well fixed, and as a matter of fact some good programming comes from the advertising agencies, independent producers, "package" builders, transcription companies, free-lances and, yes, even from the lowly 10-percent agents. But there are some things you can do.

1. The most important and fruitful



WOODS, NOBLE AND KINTNER OF ABC

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—watch the networks. They are as sensitive to criticism as a spinster with glasses. Set out deliberately to be a pain in their neck. Criticize them—often and sharply. Write direct to the network heads as well as to the local affiliate. But remember that there is positive criticism as well as negative. Pat them on the back whenever you hear a good show. And when you hear a bad one—even if it's locally originated—make your rap in spades, shooting one copy of your letter at the affiliate and another to the network, pointing out that you expect better from a station bearing this network's initials. Ask the network to inform you, *in advance,* when it is going to broadcast sustainers or other public-service shows.

2. Urge your local station to carry the network sustainers and public-service programs. If the local affiliate won't carry a good network show, you can ask that station's competitor to use it—frequently you can get action that way. All local stations, network and independent alike, can buy cheaply or obtain gratis a lot of good transcribed programming from organizations like the Institute for Democratic Education, the YMCA, etc. See that your stations use such shows.

3. Follow regularly one or more of the better radio critics, and occasionally take a look at one of the trade papers (*Variety,* the *Billboard, Radio Daily, Broadcasting Magazine*). You'll pick up a lot of interesting radio information that way. Then ask your local newspaper to run stories, not publicity puffs, about radio—stories about the NAB; about the FCC; about matters affecting radio that may come up in Congress. Through such reading you will be equipped a little better to watch national developments in radio.

These suggestions by no means exhaust all the actions you might take *as an individual.* Other possibilities are open to listeners who can band themselves into effective radio councils. Of course, if you prefer to do business at the old stand—the one you took 'way back in the days of Secretary of Commerce Hoover—that's your affair too. But in that case, quit squawking so loudly. We want to listen to the radio.

How to Get On with the Russians

by Seymour Nagan

"Let's take the chip off our shoulder," says Samuel B. Lush, a businessman who knows what he's talking about

SAMUEL B. LUSH is a practical-minded Philadelphian who, in a very American way, has solved America's most pressing foreign problem: How to get along with the Russians. Lush is not a diplomat. He is not a Communist, either. On the contrary, he is a vigorously capitalistic American businessman.

Indeed, Sam Lush comes close to fitting the Communists' conception of a bloated and successful capitalist. He owns a large and successful business. He earns more than $50,000 yearly. Without hesitation, he will admit that he has dedicated his life and mind to pursuit of the dollar via private enterprise. He voted for Franklin Roosevelt, but did so on the grounds that pump-priming and social security would be good for business. The fact that Lush does a substantial portion of his trading with the Russians is almost the only thing that sets him apart from the average business leader.

Lush even looks the way a capitalist should. At 54, he is sleek and portly. Except that he has a somewhat shorter mustache and lacks the air of arrogance, he bears a resemblance to the elder J. P. Morgan. His custom-made suits and shirts distinguish him from the crowd as surely as his income does.

From his spacious, old-fashioned office on Chestnut Street in downtown Philadelphia, Lush simultaneously directs several divergent and picturesque enterprises. He is president of the Lush Trading Company, which imports the handicraft products of half the world and sells them through Philadelphia's swank "United Nations Bazaar." He is a silent partner in the bazaar itself, of which his son Jay is president. Sam Lush's baby, however—and the object of most of his attention—is the Lush Cotton Products Company which each year imports more than $5 million worth of cotton linters (waste) from China, India, Egypt and the Soviet Union.

Lush does more than 60 percent of his business with the Russians. Before admitting this fact in public, he has learned to brace himself for the shocked disbelief or angry remonstrances which the admission invariably elicits. Lush brushes aside the protests of those whom he regards as uninformed. "My dealings with the Russians," he says, "are the most profitable and pleasant of all." Lush doesn't get upset because most Americans find this hard to believe. "A great deal of misunderstanding seems to have gotten around about what goes on behind the so-called iron curtain," he warns. "A lot of businessmen are passing up marvelous opportunities for big profits because they allow themselves to be fooled."

Lush, for one, has steadfastly re-

Seymour Nagan is the author of two recent New Republic *articles, "I'd Like to Take It Easy" and "Top Secret: Nazis at Work." He was formerly on the staffs of the New York* Times, Fortune *and* Newsweek.

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fused to be fooled. For more than a decade now—with the exception of the war years—he has been traveling to the Soviet Union on an average of twice a year. In that time, he has watched Soviet industry develop and learned how Soviet business works. "I'm anything but a Communist and I hold no brief for the Russian system," he states. "But on the other hand, I have learned certain things from experience. The Russians are damned good businessmen. They're scrupulously honest—and are eager to deal fairly with us if we deal fairly with them."

Golden opportunity

SAM LUSH may have acquired his knack of dealing successfully with the Russians through inheritance. At the time of his birth, his father, an American citizen, was a resident buyer in Odessa for a string of American importing firms. But Sam, who came to the United States at the carefree age of eight, had forgotten all about his life in Russia by the time he burst upon the business scene.

In 1908, Lush began his business career as an order clerk in the Philadelphia branch of one of the nation's largest cotton brokers. In three years, he had risen to the post of chief clerk and unofficial branch manager. He stayed with this job for about a decade, learning the ins and outs of the cotton business and saving his money. By 1919, he had accumulated $3,500 and an itch to go into business for himself.

He incorporated the Lush Cotton Products Company, which dealt almost exclusively in cotton linters, and rode the postwar boom to riches. But as suddenly as his wealth had come, it vanished in the bust of the early twenties. Giving up his Pierce-Arrow and chauffeur, Lush began a long, sober trek back to the upper brackets.

It was uphill most of the way. The bulk of the Eastern cotton-brokerage business nestled securely in the hands of the old, established firms which were not moving over for johnny-come-latelies. Paradoxically, it was this exclusion that gave Lush his golden opportunity.

In 1935, shortly after the United States opened diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union, the cotton syndicate extended its operations to Russian cotton imports. Representatives of the larger firms would gather at shipside and offer the Russian agents identical prices; the understanding was that whoever got the shipment would distribute it among the associated firms. Occasionally, Lush would wander about the wharves, wistfully observing these shenanigans. One day the Russian agents got tired of being taken by these collusive tactics and asked Lush to quote a price. "I don't know what the syndicate has bid," Lush said promptly, "but I'll give you 50 percent more." He bought an entire shipload, which was supposed to be too tall an order for one firm to handle alone, and sold it at a handsome profit.

Shortly after his cotton coup, Lush received an unexpected invitation: Would he care to come to Moscow to discuss other deals? Lush jumped at the chance and returned with additional contracts. His business boomed.

At present, Lush is handling all the Russian cotton linters imported into the United States for gun-cotton, bedding and other uses—some 60,000 bales a year. At the Soviets' request, he has also imported their high-quality glass and products of Russian arts and handicrafts, but these lines are not active now. The Russians are currently using all their glass for reconstruction while the handicrafts are moving slowly. "Russian dolls, fabrics and trinkets are beautiful and inexpensive," Lush says, "but even the few we can get aren't selling well today. One man bought a lovely crystal bowl, hurled it to the floor and jumped on it, just to show how much he hates the Russians. But even sales like this one are rare."

Lush does not attribute his success in dealing with the Russians to any special gift or policy. His particular asset is, if anything, an open mind. This—and experience—have taught

SAMUEL B. LUSH

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him much about the Russian business character.

"The first thing to remember," he says, "is that there is no incentive for chicanery or dishonesty; the fact that the individual cannot keep the profits takes care of that. Russian management wants to make a good showing all right, but the supervision and goals come from above."

Lush has found the result to be that Russian businessmen are as efficient as their American counterparts. "A Soviet executive could step into an American enterprise and do a smooth job, using familiar methods and procedures," Lush claims. Russian executives are free to hire the most efficient help they can get. Indeed, they frequently advertise to get the kind of workers they need. Within the limits of their equipment, raw materials and quotas, the managers can use whatever production practices they think best. The "profits"—*i. e.*, the excess of sales revenues over costs—then go to the state. "I don't know if that's good communism," says Lush, "but that's the way it is."

Too busy for war

EVERY time he returns from a trip to the Soviet Union, Lush is shocked anew by the contrast between what he saw going on and what the average American believes is taking place. For one thing, he reports, talk of war is silly. "The Russian system is different from ours but that doesn't mean they're going to attack us," he says. "In June, when I split my time between Russia and the United States, I saw fewer soldiers in Moscow than in Philadelphia or New York."

The Soviets, Lush says, are too busy rebuilding their country to think of war. The job they face is enormous. In all of western Russia, he reports, less than a dozen railway stations stand intact. There are few undamaged houses, let alone hotels of the kind to which American tourists are accustomed. "The Russians had no nasty motive in refusing to admit junketing congressmen," Lush says. "They just haven't the facilities to handle sightseers properly."

When the Russians admit an American on what they consider legitimate business, however, they treat him like a king. He is royally entertained and welcomed everywhere. Lush visited Riga and the Estonian port of Libau to inspect Russian cotton on his last trip. When he casually mentioned this to a member of the American embassy staff on his return to Moscow, he was eyed with polite disbelief. A short time before, it seems, an American diplomat bent on a holiday had been refused transportation to the same area. The moral, says Lush, is that the Russians think Soviet business is more important than American pleasure.

Lush thinks that American correspondents and the American embassy are more than a little responsible for the systematic misrepresentation of the issues involved in US-USSR relations. The Moscow bureaus of the major American papers and press associations, he says, are with few exceptions staffed with men hostile to the Soviet Union. The same can be said of the embassy, which does its best, however, to aid American businessmen.

In addition to mailing and cabling one-sided reports to the State Department and newspapers, members of the American colony in Moscow, Lush claims, busily disseminate anti-Russian gossip, jokes and rumors to anyone who will listen. Lush was repeatedly warned that agents of the secret police (MVD) would dog his footsteps. "As far as I know, I was never followed, but what if I had been?" Lush asks. "No one picked me up or affected my work in any way."

An exposed position

LUSH disapproves of this Russian-baiting and what he considers its corollary—the Administration's Truman Doctrine. As he sees it, this policy is a precariously perched chip on Uncle Sam's shoulder. "When we attempt to keep communism out of Eastern Europe," he says, "we are taking an exposed position and daring the Russians to call our bluff." The dangerous things about such bluffs, he points out, is that they are sometimes called.

What seems, in Lush's view, to make our policy doubly dangerous is the fact that Eastern Europe does not appreciate our efforts on its behalf. "Europeans," Lush reports, "seem to realize the implications of the Truman Doctrine more fully than its American sponsors do. They fear involvement in another war and would not thank America if our policy brought one about. . . . As it is, they take our money, curse us for fools and troublemakers, and look more than ever to the Soviet Union for guidance."

As a businessman, Lush views current American foreign policy from a practical standpoint. "Naturally," he says, "I want to keep on making money by dealing with the Russians and I don't want shooting wars or even wars of nerves to interfere." But as he sees it, there is no need for such antagonism. "If our businessmen can get along, our diplomats shouldn't have too much trouble," he insists. "And American business *can* get along with the Russians. I know because I've done it."

SAM LUSH *has been dealing with Russia and Russians for 12 years now with never a trace of acrimony, ill will or obstruction to mar the relationship. He sees no reason why other Americans cannot do the same. To businessmen—and by extension, diplomats—he offers some suggestions:*

1. Take that chip off your shoulder when you enter the Soviet Union.

2. Give the Russians credit for having as much intelligence as you—don't try to sell a bill of goods.

3. Don't knock your own country. Talk and act like a capitalist; give them Adam Smith, not Karl Marx. The Russians are suspicious of foreigners who try to sell them communism, but they respect—and even like—plain-talking businessmen.

4. Don't threaten Russians. An ultimatum is the quickest way to get the door slammed in your face.

5. Don't try to establish personal relationships. To the Russians, business is business and their code of business conduct is very strict.

6. Don't forget the Golden Rule. It works as well in Russia as anywhere else.

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FREEDOM TRAIN

by Langston Hughes

I read in the papers about the
Freedom Train.
I heard on the radio about the
Freedom Train.
I seen folks talkin' about the
Freedom Train.
Lord, I been a-waitin' for the
Freedom Train!

Down South in Dixie only train I see's
Got a Jim Crow car set aside for me.
I hope there ain't no Jim Crow on the Freedom Train,
No back door entrance to the Freedom Train,
No signs FOR COLORED on the Freedom Train,
No WHITE FOLKS ONLY on the Freedom Train.

I'm gonna check up on this
Freedom Train.

Who's the engineer on the Freedom Train?
Can a coal black man drive the Freedom Train?
Or am I still a porter on the Freedom Train?
Is there ballot boxes on the Freedom Train?
Do colored folks vote on the Freedom Train?
When it stops in Mississippi will it be made plain
Everybody's got a right to board the Freedom Train?

Somebody tell me about this
Freedom Train!

The Birmingham station's marked COLORED and WHITE.
The white folks go left, the colored go right—
They even got a segregated lane.
Is that the way to get aboard the Freedom Train?

I got to know about this
Freedom Train!

If my children ask me, *Daddy, please explain*
Why there's Jim Crow stations for the Freedom Train,
What shall I tell my children? . . . *You* tell me—
'Cause freedom ain't freedom when a man ain't free.

But maybe they explains it on the
Freedom Train.

When that train goes steamin' through South Caroline,
Will them Greenville lynchers pay it any mind?
Or will that twelve-man jury what let 'em loose,
Turn their heads and spit tobacco juice?

Wonder will they spit on the
Freedom Train?

When my old mother in Atlanta, 83 and black,
Gets in line to see the Freedom,
Will some white man yell, *Get back!*
A Negro's got no business on the Freedom Track!

Mister, I thought it were the
Freedom Train!

Her grandson's name was Jimmy. He died at Anzio.
He died for real. It warn't no show.
The freedom that they carryin' on this Freedom Train,
Is it for real—or just a show again?

Jimmy wants to know about this
Freedom Train.

Will *his* Freedom Train come zoomin' down the track
Gleamin' in the sunlight for white and black?
Not stoppin' at no stations marked COLORED nor WHITE,
Just stoppin' in the fields in the broad daylight,
Stoppin' in the country in the wide open air
Where there never was no Jim Crow signs nowhere,
No Welcomin' Committees, nor politicians of note,
No Mayors and such for which colored can't vote,
And nary a sign of a color line—
For the Freedom Train will be yours and mine!

Then maybe from their graves in Anzio
The GI's who fought will say, *We wanted it so!*
Black men and white will say, *Ain't it fine?*
At home they got a train that's yours and mine!

Then I'll shout, *Glory for the*
Freedom Train!
I'll holler, *Blow your whistle,*
Freedom Train!
Thank God-A-Mighty! Here's the
Freedom Train!
Get on board our Freedom Train!

THIS fall, specially built railroad cars, each painted white, with a gold American eagle in the center flanked by blue and red stripes, will start out on a year's run. It is called the Freedom Train, and will carry some precious heirlooms—100 original documents basic to US democracy. It will cross the land four times, visit more than 300 cities. The sponsors have said they will by-pass any town which plans segregation on the train carrying, among other documents, the Emancipation Proclamation. Langston Hughes, 44-year-old Negro poet and novelist, was inspired by the idea to write the poem which appears here. But he remains skeptical about what the local citizenry in the deep South may do to the Freedom Train. "Checkin' on the Freedom Train," adapted from a Negro spiritual, expresses the hope of the riders of the Jim Crow cars that this will be a different kind of train. Like most literature voicing the spontaneous longings of the Negro, it is easy to sing. A moving musical version will be published by W. C. Handy, the man who wrote "The St. Louis Blues."

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Books in Review

Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance

CERVANTES, by Aubrey F. G. Bell (University of Oklahoma Press; $3).

IT IS a curious fact that no man can be a more jealous lover than the writer in love with a country not his own, particularly if that country is Spain. Aubrey F. G. Bell spent a quarter of a century in the Iberian Peninsula as correspondent for a now defunct London newspaper; he is an authority on the classic literature of both Spain and Portugal. He has written *Cervantes* to commemorate the birth, four hundred years ago this month, of the author of *Don Quixote*. The frank purpose of the book is to fill the reader with something of the author's deep love for Spain, her spirit and her greatest writer. But his love is a jealous love, which regards with cold fury anyone who dares to look upon the country of his dreams and the proudest product of its culture, with any pretensions of his own. The result is a happily cantankerous book, a vividly heartfelt tribute filled with scorn and contempt for those who may rival his love for the Spanish spirit and for Cervantes. In his bullying, dogmatic, jealous fashion, Bell manages to fill you with much of his own sense of excitement about the great novelist, even while you disagree with the stubborn social backwardness of Cervantes' advocate.

Bell leaves one with no doubt as to his dogmatic position. In his preface he lays down rules for those non-Spanish readers he will permit to admire his hero: in the first place, you must read Cervantes in the original Spanish, since, as he points out with some justice, the English translations are not to be trusted; in the second place, you must read not only *Don Quixote*, but all of the lesser works if you are to understand Cervantes properly; furthermore, "it is probably the duty of every Spanish scholar to write a book on Cervantes as it is the duty of every Greek scholar to publish a translation of the 'Agamemnon' of Aeschylus, in the hope of drawing nearer, if only by a single line, to the ideal translation, the perfect picture."

HAVING established his position in regard to reading and scholarship, Bell has two particular points which he wants to defend to the death, always with the tactical realization that the best defense is a good attack. The first is that Cervantes, despite the misapprehension of Protestant and atheist critics, was an earnest, loyal and entirely orthodox Catholic rather than a skeptical rebel who slyly employed his subtle satire to get around the Inquisition. The second is that *Don Quixote* was intended as a polemic "directed throughout against those whom he considered guilty of subverting society and disturbing the peace and order of the world. It is a clear, unclouded mirror in which the theorists, intellectuals, doctrinaires, utopians and world reformers may see their image reflected. Cervantes' warning [is] that utopianism is the world's worst enemy."

It is my impression that Bell is only half successful in proving either thesis and that, despite the dogmatic violence of his conservative social ideas, he is too genuinely devoted to the spirit of the man he is writing about to claim for himself infallibility concerning both contentions. In one of his characteristically candid moments, he admits sadly that Cervantes is but "feebly defended" against the charge of unorthodoxy by Catholic critics and literary historians, and was "scarcely included" among Catholic writers in a recent Catholic survey of literature. Bell is convincing when he demonstrates that Cervantes was no rebel against the Church, but a sincere Catholic. He is not so convincing when he tries to show that his author was a model of orthodoxy or was above using shrewd subtlety to "make himself safe from the attentions of the Inquisition." Nor does he seem to me altogether persuasive when he denies the importance usually attributed to Cervantes' statement in his *Voyage to Parnassus*: "Have no doubt, dear reader, have no doubt that dissimulation sometimes serves to heighten the other virtues." In the end Cervantes seems neither the model of Catholic

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Illustrations by Gustave Doré

conservatism nor the wily heretic of the contrasting interpretation. As Bell says, "The mind of Cervantes was both medieval and modern." It was one of the marks of his genius that he was a cultural bridge between the two historic minds. He was a great, lofty and brooding spirit in whom faith and doubt, courage and dissimulation, mingled in a human manner. His was no neat pattern of sheer heresy or straight orthodoxy, but it did tend to place ethics above dogma.

As FOR "Cervantes' warning that utopianism is the world's worst enemy," Bell, despite his frank prejudice, is too forthright a critic not to make damaging admissions about his side of the argument. In theory, he is extremely violent on the subject. He talks scornfully of "the shallow if systematic faith of utopians seeking to reform the world," proclaims that Don Quixote was "a humanitarian and as such took upon himself to act with unconscious blasphemy as a kind of Providence on earth," notes that "when the passion for 'improvement' becomes universal and methodical it is the whole world that gradually grows faint and dies," and enthusiastically approves the admonition of Sancho Panza's wife to her husband: "Get back to your concerns and leave those who govern, for they know better than we can what they should do." His hero, he says, is constantly being punished for his presumption, and such punishment is only just.

He is particularly scornful about Aldous Huxley's remark that "the best men and women of every class in Britain and America will come to the conclusion that they cannot find a worthy purpose for their lives except by participation in the organized move to change the world," adding that "the time is evidently ripe for the writing of a modern *Don Quixote* to smile such foolishness away." Yet it seems to me that he takes it all back when he writes that Cervantes' masterpiece "is the most stimulating book in all literature because it shows how a fine consistency of character can triumph over external circumstance and persevere with stoical endurance and heroic mirth in the face of every kind of difficulty and disaster." It seems a reluctant admission that, while the Knight of the Sorrowful Countenance might have been intended originally as a satire not only on outmoded romances of chivalry but also on interfering liberals and "do-gooders," he emerged as a heroic embodiment of the idealistic fighter against cruelty and oppression—even in defeat and public mockery.

Anyone who has been in Spain, particularly during the tragic struggle against Fascist aggression, is certain to share Bell's affection for the country that is clearly his spiritual fatherland and to agree with him completely about the unparalleled graciousness, courtesy, dignity and strength of character of the Spanish people, their bravery and endurance. It happens, however, that Bell's Spain is also a land that rings with "the merry laughter" of its peasants. To the author of *Cervantes* it is the height of heresy to make the statement, which he quotes rather bitterly, that "the Spanish peasant lives so miserably that nothing will be lost by depriving him of his property in the interest of socialism." To those who watched the recent destruction of the Spanish Republic while the democracies of the West sat back unheedingly, this English critic's slightly smug picture of Spain as a land of peasant laughter, orthodoxy, contentment and level-headed conservatism destroys a great deal of the pleasure to be found in an otherwise interesting and always combative tribute to genius. RICHARD WATTS JR.

Dollars and Donuts

BRITAIN AND WORLD TRADE, a report by PEP (PEP, London; 18 shillings; available through the *New Republic;* $5).

How is Britain to survive economically in the postwar world? This question has recently received sharp emphasis by the impending exhaustion of the credit from the United

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States. *Britain and World Trade* was published before the crisis arose; it had been over two years in the making. But it lays out the fundamental situation more thoroughly and in greater detail than any other publication I know of, and those who consult it will have a real understanding of the background against which future developments will appear.

A PEP report is a different document from any which can be derived from either official sources or a research staff. Political and Economic Planning is the name of a British voluntary organization which has been operating for the past 15 years; it has a headquarters and a staff of experts, but it also includes working members from a wide array of occupations—industry, labor, the universities, government and the professions. Every report is the end product of a long series of discussions by a group chosen for its competence or special knowledge of the subject in hand, and the interplay of theoretical and practical knowledge during the discussions makes for seasoned judgments.

This document begins with an excellent analysis of the situation between World War I and World War II, which, among other things, brings out clearly the responsibility of the depression in this country for many of the restrictive practices which grew up in the 1930's—a subject concerning which American opinion still needs education. It examines the new situation brought about by the economic aims and organizations of the United Nations, particularly the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the prospective International Trade Organization. Then it plunges into the specific problem of Britain, caused mainly by the loss of foreign investments during the war, assesses the credit agreement with the US, the necessities for limiting imports and the means of expanding exports to the required level. Finally, there is a discussion of what the rest of the world can do if in the future its fear of another deep American slump should be realized.

Though the report is not alarmist and assumes that Britain's problem can be solved, it makes clear the enormous difficulties that will have to be overcome and the sacrifices that the British people will have to endure until the export target is hit. Though it could not anticipate the terrible winter which set back the program this year, it does foreshadow the dangers in the premature convertibility of sterling which the credit agreement stipulated, the inadequacy of the total amount of the loan and the reduction of its purchasing power through a rising price level. Among the import restrictions recommended are the cut in tobacco and the complete elimination of foreign films, to which the government was eventually driven. It also recommends a drastic cut in imports of gasoline, however unpleasant that would be to motorists, but a somewhat smaller reduction in paper and food imports than those which have been found advisable in recent weeks. A bit of unconscious humor is the listing of movies among the "invisible" imports.

MANY Americans will be surprised by the possibilities set forth for large exports of certain types of goods in which popular opinion has erroneously assumed Britain is hopelessly backward—such things as machinery, railway equipment, automobiles and trucks, electrical equipment, chemicals and capital goods in general. Exports of many of these products are already far above the prewar level. In addition, there is an excellent opportunity for fine quality consumers' goods such as woolens, cutlery, pottery and Scotch whiskey—a development for which Americans were better prepared.

The report is opposed to the retention of Imperial Preference duties, on the ground that they did nothing to enlarge world trade or even British exports, but had the effect of transferring a larger share of British imports to countries in the Empire from those outside it. It is probably this very result, however, which now causes the British to cling to the Ottawa system temporarily, since it provides a help in economizing the use of the rapidly dwindling supply of dollars.

There is an excellent discussion of what can be done in the event of a dollar shortage, but it is not applicable to the present situation, arising from a world scarcity of goods, eagerness to buy from the United States and high prices. The dollar shortage which authors of the report have in mind is of the sort which arose after 1929, when Americans stopped investing and lending abroad, and at the same time reduced their imports from other countries because of the depression here. Preoccupation with defense against another similar calamity runs deep in the thinking of Britain and many other nations, for it could ruin the best laid plans and impoverish vast populations besides our own. Throughout the whole report runs the theme that the basic essential is a high and stable level of world trade. This cannot result from a mere removal of trade barriers, but must rest on stable prosperity within the great industrial and trading nations. Consequently each of them must maintain full employment by a high domestic level of consumption, if ultimate calamity is to be avoided.

GEORGE SOULE

Man and Mirror

THE JOURNALS OF ANDRÉ GIDE (Alfred A. Knopf; $5).

BY 1950 the complete journals of André Gide will be available in an English translation. The first of three proposed volumes, extending from 1889 to 1913, has just been published, translated by Justin O'Brien, with an introduction, footnotes, index and an admirable glossary of persons mentioned in the text.

There is a sentence in the Journals which might serve as a motto for them: "Our whole life is spent in sketching an ineradicable portrait of ourselves." Men understand this in a number of ways. The moving finger writes; every life "has a story in it"; a face is a character; and the sum of our desires and acts and intentions is the account of the Recording Angel. But some spend their lives sketching a portrait of a more literal kind: they keep journals. Almost everyone has done this at some time in his life, even if it came to nothing more than a few pages scribbled in a notebook which

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remained for the most part forever blank. But this is a phase in the growth of self-consciousness, like discovering one's own body, and after one settles on a working misconception of self, the knower and the known usually merge again, and diarizing ceases. But the man who continues to keep this record through his adult life does so because he is a peculiar type of person for whom this is a necessary exercise. And of this type of person, the classic example in our time is André Gide.

THE man who sketches such a portrait is really sketching the portrait of a portrait, the picture of a man watching himself. The difficulties of this position, being at once watcher and watched, are rather like those of one standing very still to catch himself moving in a mirror. This makes for the greatest interest in journals. Their recorder must use every means to outwit himself in order "to be utterly and perfectly sincere." "Each one of us," says Gide, "has his own way of deceiving himself." And again: "A new personality can be expressed sincerely only in a new form." A journal is a kind of experiment in forms. Over a period of time a man's attitude toward his journal changes, with his concept of what his record ought to be. Early in these pages, Gide says: "I ought not to write these utterly objective notes in this notebook," but later he surrenders to a faith in the significance for his record in "objective notes," particularly in his famous transcription of conversation. Like all diarists, Gide succumbs to occupational habits. He is sensitive to the type of notebook in which he writes. He suffers from bad conscience about neglect and omissions. Occasionally he wreaks his temper on the journals much as a patient in psychoanalysis is said to turn on the analyst. But he remains faithful to the essential law that it be spontaneous, sustained and above all avoid "a literary restatement, something that a journal must not be."

Although a journal doesn't contain the information of a memoir, since it is written for the writer himself,

Picture Collection, N. Y. Public Library
ANDRÉ GIDE

who is already familiar with the facts, there is sufficient data in this volume to give a pretty clear idea of Gide's life. The entries begin when he was 20 years old, remarkable for "my youth, my long hair, my sentimental manner, and a frock coat that my tailor had turned out beautifully." They record his literary activities, notes for his novels, his growing reputation, his friendships, travels, and life in Paris with its innumerable visits to his large family of uncles, aunts and cousins. He talks of his house in the country, his gardening, his clothes, his music. Entries like the following afford that happy penetration that seems to tell us all that we could know of his habits and character: "Every day I go out to eat a sherbet, as others would go to a lecture course." Or: "Never a man, I shall never be anything but an aged child." Or: "Shadowed for more than a quarter of an hour a decent enough but odd-looking man in rags."

BUT even more than a record of his life, the *Journal* is an instrument for inquiring into the nature of his character, determining the laws of that nature and relating them to his concept of life as a whole. Gide is generally considered a religious writer, and he has even published (prompted, perhaps, by his journalizing habits) a selection of his private prayers. But he disavows affiliation with any church. "Protestant Orthodoxy—these words have no meaning for me. I do not recognize any *authority*." From the formal Calvinism of his youth he emerged with a knowledge of the Bible, a habit of poetical exegesis of its text, and a preoccupation with personal morality. But the latter was rather the search for a way of life consistent with his own nature, and in this the "daily routine" he pinned to the wall was as much an element as the teaching of Christ. "It is impossible for me to conceive of ethics as independent from psychology." His religious inquiries, then, have been personal inquiries, and in these he hoped for no assistance from any creed or ritual. "What spiritual director would understand with sufficient subtlety this vacillation, this passionate indecision of my whole being, this equal aptitude for contraries?"

What he denies to the ear of the confessional, he confides to his journal. This loneliness, however, is not merely intellectual. "The least society," he says, "even the most friendly, gives me a real nervous upset; obliged to limit myself to silence as a child is limited to bread and water, I seem gloomy as soon as I cease to be peppery; and I long for solitude." This is a persistent theme in these pages. "I am no good except when alone. In a group it's not so much the others that bore and annoy me; it's myself." This reticence, however, besides being the refuge of a shy man, is the deliberate policy of a scrupulous and austere intelligence. "Between oneself and the world raise a barrier of simplicity. Nothing so baffles them as naturalness." Early in the *Journal* he writes, "I must learn to keep silent," and years later, "The number of things better left unsaid increases for me every day." It is not an unhappy solitude: "Thanks to everything I am delightfully sufficient to myself," and it is a sweet triumph to escape a company of friends "to chat with this notebook."

To the motto suggested at the beginning of this notice might be added another which applies to all addicted

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diarists: "The important thing is to believe in one's own importance." It is peculiarly characteristic of Gide that he has always done himself that justice: he has taken himself seriously. And although his remark isn't restricted to anything like a worldly success, it is curious to note early in the *Journal* that its pages "take for granted a future fame or celebrity that will confer an interest on them."

JOHN FARRELLY

The Facts of Life

TOWARDS WORLD PROSPERITY, edited by Mordecai Ezekiel (Harper and Brothers; $5.50).

AMERICA'S NEEDS AND RESOURCES, by J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates (The Twentieth Century Fund; $5).

WITH the pieces that make up the globe being reshuffled into new spheres of influence, there seems to be little prospect for the kind of peaceful rebuilding for which we all hoped. We are resigned to a horrifying replay of the great game of international grab and we take pride in that sense of drift which has now become the dominant feature of Western nations. And the heartbreak is that we possess the means and the apparatus to rebuild a devastated world; whether we do is essentially an act of will.

This is as much a moral as it is an economic problem, but unfortunately one which the experts who contributed to the Ezekiel symposium could not discuss. They do show, however, what exists in a material way and what needs to be done to rebuild Europe, Asia and the Americas. They assess the current situation, catalog the resources and measure the prospects. They conclude that in an engineering sense at least, we can have world prosperity.

For most countries, Mordecai Ezekiel says in his pointed introductory chapters, prosperity requires the encouragement of light industries. This, he grants, would not be an easy matter in many areas, but the destruction which took place during the war was counterbalanced to some degree by the upbuilding of new regions and by the development of new processes. Agriculture, he tells us, was not so seriously affected as was industry. Production patterns remain pretty much the same as in prewar days, although war-born distortions in foreign trade may interfere with the ability of certain nations to obtain imported foodstuffs.

In fact, it is these intangible economic disruptions which represent the real murky heritage of the war. It is the destruction of transport facilities, the disintegration of markets, the corruption of the money system and the chaotic scrambling of property relations which mainly account for the present world mess.

World prosperity, in the final analysis, is dependent on the continuation of American prosperity. Now the Twentieth Century Fund tells us that prosperity is possible. According to Dr. Dewhurst and his associates we should be able to achieve an output of $202 billion by 1960. This implies a greater capacity to produce food, clothing, houses, automobiles, appliances and all the accoutrements that make modern living so pleasant. Yet Dr. Dewhurst admits that even another decade of uninterrupted production would not satisfy all the needs of the American people; he concedes that consumption would fall short of the "minimum level of health and decency."

The weakness of the Twentieth Century Fund study is to be found in its premises. It is assumed that economic activity will still be at a high level in 1960; that productive capacity will continue to grow; and that the American people will have the purchasing power to enable them to make use of the vast industrial output. The rub lies in the last assumption. It is one contradicted by the actual experience of American capitalism, for seldom has our economy been able to generate continuous mass buying ability. And it has been this failure which has caused our periodic breakdowns. The admitted gap between needs and prospects should have indicated that something was wrong with the American economy.

World prosperity depends on what America can do to solve its own problems. But if our economy begins a toboggan ride to purgatory, can we really expect the rest of the world to stay put?

BEN B. SELIGMAN

BOOK CLUB SELECTIONS FOR SEPTEMBER

BOOK FIND CLUB. *Black Hamlet,* by Wulf Sachs. An account of the life of a South African Negro stranded between Negro and white society. Reviewed in the *New Republic,* May 12.

BOOK LEAGUE. *The Dark Fantastic,* by Margaret Echard. The second wife scares the first to death, then scares herself to death and the husband goes off to find the girl he really loved all the time.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB. *Gus the Great,* by Thomas W. Duncan. A novel about a Middle Western side-show and circus promoter. It seems to need more editing.

DOLLAR BOOK CLUB. *The Web of Days,* by Edna Lee. Louisiana during Reconstruction is the background; plot and prose are out of contemporary confession magazines.

FAMILY READING CLUB. *The Years of the Locust,* by Louella Grace Erdman. Another folksy novel about a good old farmer and his family.

HISTORY BOOK CLUB. *The March of Freedom,* by William Harlan Hale. An intelligent reappraisal of American history for the layman.

LITERARY GUILD. *The Bright Promise,* by Richard Sherman. A young couple move through movie-style high life and soap-opera hardships from 1933-45, "inescapably affected," the blurb says, "by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt."

NON-FICTION BOOK CLUB. *Kingdom of Adventure: Everest,* edited by James Ramsey Ullman. Selections from articles and logs written by members of the seven expeditions to Everest, which the editor has fitted into an exciting story.

PEOPLE'S BOOK CLUB. *Together,* by Katherine Tupper Marshall. The author is the wife of the Secretary of State.

PROGRESSIVE BOOK CLUB. *The Mahatma and the World,* by Krishnalal Shridharani. A pleasantly discursive biography and appreciation of Gandhi.

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Labor

Labor and Jim Crow

A SUIT filed by Negro rail workers against the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway and certain railroad brotherhoods asks the federal courts to knock out agreements by which Negroes, whatever function they perform on Frisco trains and in the yards, are paid only porters' rates. The suit asks $4 million in damages, mostly punitive. There seems a good chance, on the basis of Supreme Court and Circuit Court decisions in earlier cases, that this action, filed in St. Louis, will knock out one of the remaining props by which unions have jim-crowed and otherwise discriminated against Negro workers.

Partly as a result of public agitation, partly because of the work of the wartime Fair Employment Practice Commission, partly because of recent court actions, racial restrictions among unions are beginning to disappear. These restrictions have been numerous and varied; the railroad brotherhoods have been among the worst offenders; but even today a large potential Negro labor supply in the building trades is effectively denied employment except on the most menial tasks. Unions have either barred Negroes from membership or set them up in segregated locals. One effect, though many old-fashioned labor leaders did not understand it, was to create pools of underpaid workers who in depression times were effectively played off against the white workers.

YEARS ago the CIO began to repudiate racism in unions and in 1942 set up a CIO Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination. It found that the national committee could not process all the complaints turned in without establishing an impossibly large and elaborate staff. As a result, the constituent unions themselves were asked to set up committees to handle discrimination problems, and 10 of the major CIO unions now have such committees. Other unions, among them the United Steelworkers, handle discrimination complaints through staff members and district directors—a less satisfactory and frequently slower system, but one which fits into the Steelworkers' decentralized organization.

The United Packinghouse Workers have done an extraordinarily good job in handling race relations in a union where 38 percent of the members are Negroes. The United Automobile Workers set up an anti-discrimination committee last year through constitutional amendment, providing a stable budget, and Walter Reuther, president of the union, served as chairman.

WHEN a complaint is received by the CIO committee, it is forwarded to the international union responsible, and a report is required within 15 days. If the complaint is not satisfactorily adjusted, a member of the national staff, as a last resort, will visit the locality involved.

The committee, in addition to spearheading anti-discrimination work within the CIO itself, works with community and national groups. It concerns itself with such community race tensions as the school "strike" in Gary, Indiana, last year, involving a jim-crowed high school. The CIO committee also works with government agencies, both state and national, involved in a wide variety of services; an example is a recent meeting with Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach about the breakdown of the apprentice-training program so far as Negroes were concerned.

The American Federation of Labor has no national structure comparable to the CIO's anti-discrimination committee and some of its constituent internationals themselves still are guilty of bad race practices. But AFL President William Green has twice testified in favor of a permanent federal FEPC,

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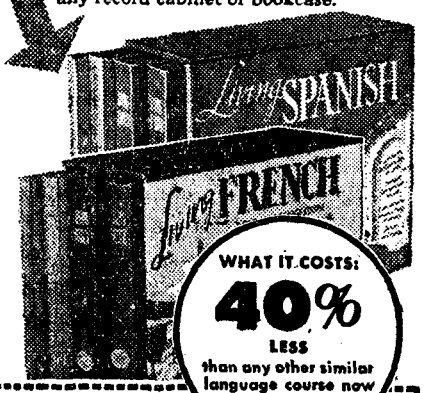

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which would forbid discrimination by unions as well as employers.

THE railroad brotherhoods, with their traditional discriminatory practices, have been badly battered in recent years. In two cases the Supreme Court has ruled that, under the Railway Labor Act, unions representing the majority of employees must also represent the minority—meaning Negroes who had been ignored—and in a trial of one of these cases a Negro worker was awarded $1,000 in damages by a Virginia jury.

When the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen last year persuaded the Frisco to sign an agreement depriving Negro train porters of certain brakemen's duties they had also performed, the porter-brakemen obtained an injunction which has been in effect for more than a year.

An interesting bit of history involves these porter-brakemen. Before World War I, they were paid porters' wage scales, but when the government operated the rails during the war, their scales were raised to the brakemen's brackets. When the roads reverted to private operation, the scales dropped back to porters' brackets.

NOTES.—Pay no attention to reports that non-Communist affidavits are "pouring into" the National Labor Relations Board; they may begin to "pour in" later, but no major international union of the AFL or the CIO had filed its officers' affidavits before last week. And the NLRB is a quiet if not moribund agency; not much business around the place except for conferences trying to unearth what the Taft-Hartley Act means and how it can be administered. . . . The only industry in which mass firings for union activity are still taking place is textiles, where CIO sources say from 1,500 to 2,000 workers have been discharged, downgraded or blacklisted for joining in the Southern organizing campaign. Even before the Taft-Hartley Act, the NLRB took nine months to process an unfair-labor-practice charge, and in nine months a fired and blacklisted worker can quietly starve. WILLARD SHELTON

Farm

Those Long-Haired Scientists

LIFE magazine's farm writer, in a recent article, mentioned with disapproval the great amount of money that is annually spent on the American farmer and said that for every 360 persons on farms there was one US Department of Agriculture employee who did nothing but look after them. This is the common but erroneous opinion shared by many who write about agriculture, that only farmers benefit from Department of Agriculture efforts.

What such writers overlook is that most of the money spent for farmers, particularly for research, benefits the whole population. The city fellow would go hungry if it were not for the work of scientists in the Department of Agriculture. When you dig into the history of plants, animals and their diseases you wonder how any animal or any plant ever survived, and when you look at the record that scientists have made in producing better plants, better animals, better fertilizer, better methods of fighting diseases and insects you realize how important it is to spend money on agriculture. And practically all agricultural research in America is carried on by the government.

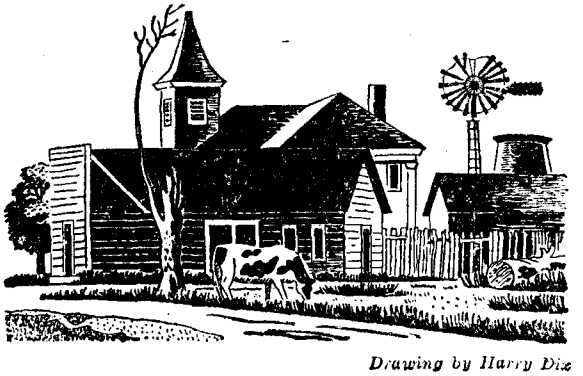
About the best source of information on this subject is a recent book, *Two Blades of Grass* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1947), by T. Swann Harding, who has been a writer in the Department of Agriculture for 30 years and who has contributed numerous articles to popular and scientific journals. Harding points out in his book that from the very beginning, opposition to spending taxpayers' money on agriculture has delayed needed government services.

Although George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and others recognized the need for a Department of Agriculture, the Department was not created until 1862. For many years before this, plant diseases had been taking a heavy toll and animal diseases had killed hundreds of thousands of farm animals.

For example, in 1842 Peter Dunn, New York milkman, bought a cow with pleuropneumonia from an English sea captain. The disease spread and in a few years threatened to wipe out the whole dairy industry. Efforts to pry money out of Congress were unavailing.

Finally, in 1862, $15,000 was appropriated to stamp out the disease. In 1883 the Department got sufficient funds to open an experimental station and in 1884 Representative Hatch of Missouri, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, introduced his bill to found a Bureau of Animal Husbandry to fight pleuropneumonia. This legislation was ridiculed and bitterly opposed. Some said it was an invasion of states' rights and an attempt by Washington bureaucrats to expand their activities. Others called it the "horse-doctor bill." They said the disease was a myth anyway. But the Hatch bill became law and in 1892 the Department announced that the disease was wiped out.

IN the early days little was known of plant diseases. Scientists thought that it was impossible for bacteria to grow in plant tissues and ridiculed the ideas of men like T. J. Burrill and



Drawing by Harry Dix

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Erwin F. Smith, Department of Agriculture scientists. At the time Burrill was doing his research, a fire blight on pear trees was sweeping the Midwest. Burrill investigated and came to the conclusion that the disease was caused by bacteria. As a result, it was soon eradicated.

Laughing at scientists who have conquered plant diseases and have developed better plants is still common practice. A few years ago a politician poured ridicule on "long-haired scientists" in the Department of Agriculture because a million dollars was spent developing one potato. The result was the Katahdin, a good producer, resistant to mild mosaic. This potato has repaid many times over the money spent on research. It is one of the most widely used varieties and has revolutionized potato production in Australia.

AN interesting story is that of Mark Carleton, Department of Agriculture scientist who was assigned to help would-be fig growers who were unsuccessful in growing figs. Fig trees had been introduced in California, but they wouldn't bear. So Carleton went to Greece and Syria to study the sex life of figs.

He found that certain wasps bred by the natives were used to pollinate the trees. He brought home the wasps, much to the amusement of the growers, but now we have an annual fig industry valued at more than $10 million. Carleton also helped develop durum wheat, used for making macaroni, which is now a great industry. In 1901, 60,000 bushels were produced. In 1906, 50 million bushels were raised, or six percent of the entire wheat crop.

Some years ago sugar-cane plants were threatened with disease and saved by Uncle Sam's scientists. By 1926, a sugar-cane mosaic, a virus disease discovered in 1915, had cut domestic cane sugar to one-fifth of normal. The industry faced extinction. At the same time the beet-sugar industry was menaced by another virus disease. A permanent shutdown of the industry threatened and $50 million worth of machinery was idle. The growers and

Useful Information

For us the living it is important to remember how five million died at Auschwitz and Birkenau. It may be of even more practical importance to learn and remember how a few thousand survived. Both kinds of information are available in *Smoke Over Birkenau*. It is the explicit story of death in various forms: the gas chamber, typhus, starvation. It is also the story of life: of those who, "the body naked, the hands empty, kept locked within them some inner substance, a strength increasing as the need for it increased, a freedom created through the effort of their imagination, the strain of their will, and the work of their intellect."

The author was a prisoner in Birkenau from 1942 until 1945.

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The publishers believe that McCabe's investigation will help open the eyes of the American public to these conditions. He charges, with what he considers definite evidence, that the Church is using its enormous wealth and voting power to poison the wells of truth and to conceal from the public the facts of history which are at variance with the claims it advances today. The publishers consider that anyone who examines McCabe's evidence will agree that the 14th edition of the Britannica has been used by the Catholic hierarchy for the purposes of propaganda and that the University of Chicago should not sponsor such a work.

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processors called on E. W. Brandes and Eubanks Carsner. Brandes went to the Dutch Indies and found and developed disease-resistant sugar cane. Carsner, after much experimentation, produced disease-resistant beet-sugar plants. In ten years the industry completely recovered.

These are only a few of the hundreds of examples that could be given. Time after time the long-haired boys have come to the rescue of Americans when their food supply and health were threatened. They licked several plant diseases that were wiping out our source of bread—developed a disease-proof tomato in Florida when the tomato industry was threatened.

They have analyzed our soil, showed us new ways to stop erosion, how to fertilize, how to retain vitamins in food, how to produce penicillin in mass quantities and how to kill weeds with 2,4-D (2,4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid). They have given us DDT to kill insects, showed farmers how to raise lean bacon hogs and grass with high protein content; they have told us what to put on our land to make it fertile, taught us how to protect it from blowing away or washing away. They have told us how to build a dairy barn, how to gin cotton so it won't be combustible, how to build a chicken coop, raise a chicken, or what to do if a cat gets sick.

IF you want information on anything that remotely touches agriculture and its products, just drop a card to the Department of Agriculture and the chances are you'll get complete answers to your questions. And when you drink a glass of milk, remember that it would still be full of disease germs if it hadn't been for some USDA scientist, and that your meat would be rotten if it hadn't been for research, and that your food supply, however expensive because of inflation, would be costing you a lot more money, and that your standard of living would be much lower regardless of whether you live in country or city or whether you work in an office, factory or on a farm—if it hadn't been for the long-haired scientists.

ANGUS MCDONALD

Movies

A Mixed Bag

DANNY KAYE of the "unstrung tongue" amused me in "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty." The picture is long and rambling, and gets a little out of hand, but I didn't care. There are those who think the inclusion of some old Kaye numbers a mistake, and it's true that "Anatole of Paris" was slowed up by a production treatment that just about ruined it.

Sylvia Fine, one of the producers of the movie, is the genius of crazy lyrics and has had a great deal to do with the success of her husband—not that Danny Kaye, a comedian of diabolical energy and manic originality, would not have been a noteworthy clown without her.

Outside the Thurber dream scenes, "The Secret Life" is pretty tiresome, but Kaye has at least three magnificent sequences. He is sometimes intrepid, sometimes shyly confused, and I recommend it for those not made nervous by his frenetic approach. Virginia Mayo, Boris Karloff, Thurston Hall and Reginald Denny are included in a large cast.

THE most apt comment in the reviews of "Welcome Stranger" was by Otis L. Guernsey Jr. in the New

Drawing by Seligson
DANNY KAYE

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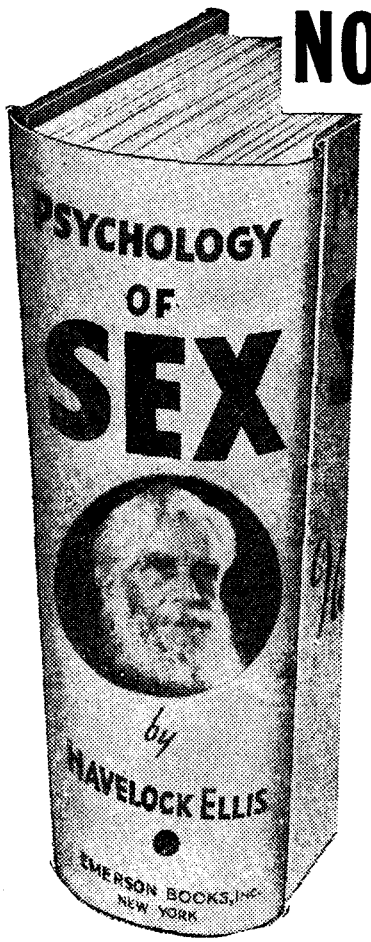
York *Herald Tribune:* "It does guarantee as much good fun as can be created by a couple of genuine wits at an undoubtedly sticky party." Bing Crosby and Barry Fitzgerald are an ideal team, and it is past understanding why Paramount is willing to put them in a story that is unthinking and sloppy. The villains of the piece, the Maine town elders with influence and money, go through machinations that would shame any of the old Essanay flickers.

The story is about the old doctor and the new one, and it takes the usual number of reels for the young medico to win the admiration and respect of his elder. Fitzgerald doesn't fool around any more with inventiveness or variety; he and Elliott Nugent, who does a slick directing job on the silly story, are happy now with the tried and mostly false tricks. When Fitzgerald looks affectionately over his glasses and, realizing in a triple take that Crosby has seen his bared soul, starts making noises like a British seal, you feel maybe that the old gentleman is cheating. Crosby, in that casual, "I've-been-here-before" manner, always gives an intelligent performance; Fitzgerald, one of the best actors ever contributed by the theatre to the screen, is now repeating himself, gesture by gesture, to such a degree that his "Welcome Stranger" performance is practically an imposition.

Joan Caulfield, well on her way to establish the sad, remunerative destiny that seems to be in store for her, again plays adequately the nice girl who is there with the feed line. She looks as pretty, you might say, as a picture. Elliott Nugent appears briefly as the self-conscious gent with the mustache who represents the medical society. To give you an extremely basic idea of the plot, Nugent has come to examine the codger doctor and determine his professional fitness for a town whose illnesses he has tended for 35 years.

"Black Narcissus" is a most superior British film about an order of English Protestant missionary nuns who renew their vows yearly and of their own choice. It has many scenes of great excitement, beautiful process shots of the unearthly Himalayas, a wonder of jungle flowers wild with soft color, and the seemingly endless rocky ravines surrounding the precipice where, lonely in the incessant wind, stands the House of Women.

This picture has been objected to by religious organizations on the ground that the nuns' habits are similar to those worn by the Catholic Church, and that for this reason it is offensive to show women in whose heads and hearts there sometimes exist doubts or desires or worldly confusion. I found this a notably virtuous picture. Evil, in the form of madness through jealousy and illness, is rewarded in what should seem a reasonable dénouement even to the most pious. The spiritual struggle, pictured rightly, I think, as



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recurrent and never ending among the sisters, and their courage and perseverence in the cause of kindness were admirably handled. Deborah Kerr as the Superior is perhaps too beautiful to be altogether believable, but her tribulations subtly registered in her delicate technique and the strength with which the character has been invested make her prettiness and grace fitting to the role.

"GREEN FOR DANGER" was never intended as a great work. It is my impression that it was tossed off, and if that is so, the English have succeeded again in making with little fuss a movie that is better than some of our elaborately deliberate tries. Think of it as a minor effort and then observe the different characterizations, the valid way in which the people talk, the delightful embroidery on the personality of the detective, who is one of the most conceited, charming, self-indulgent, softly handsome detectives ever claiming to come from Scotland Yard. To the trade it may be a "B" picture, but it is the better for having been made by working people past adolescence.

"THE CORPSE CAME C.O.D." is not exactly a new low, which in a way, would have been an accomplishment. Henry Levin, given the script and tired players that fell his lot, has done what he could—or very little. Joan Blondell and George Brent are rival newspaper reporters. The murdered man, a studio dress designer, belongs to what Anatole France called "the neuter gender," and the movie, set in Hollywood, is terrible. Leslie Brooks is pleasant, but I advise you to wait to see her in some other picture.

"Framed," with an excellent actor named Glenn Ford, is not, for what it attempts, as bad as you'd expect if you found it—as I did—on a bill with "The Corpse Came C.O.D." It is something of a steal on "Double Indemnity," but that was a good movie to take as a guide. This grade-B item contains some good direction, some well conceived performances, excellent sets and fine photography.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

Correspondence

Fair Exchange

SIR: As a result of a letter in a recent issue of the *New Statesman and Nation,* I have amassed some 650 names of English people who would be glad to exchange their copies of that magazine for copies of the *New Republic.* American readers interested in this suggestion may write me at the address below.

F. DENIS GOODALL

17, Forest Court,
Snaresbrook,
London, 11 England

Dangerous Drugs

SIR: Carl Malmberg's article in the *New Republic* of August 25 on patent medicines is commendable and offers much needed information to laymen. His choice of drugs to illustrate the difference in costs to the consumer of the same trademark-named or USP product is most unfortunate, however. Of the six drugs chosen, one is considered poisonous and two others are of questionable safety. Aminopyrine is the main cause of agranulocytosis, a disease with a high mortality. Cincophen and neocincophen have numerous toxic side reactions and may cause cirrhosis and other disorders. Their use has been abandoned by a large proportion of the medical profession and those who still use them do so carefully, with full cognizance of the dangers involved.

I realize these drugs were random illustrations, but it is an error of omission for Malmberg, a supposed expert, not to have mentioned their toxicity.

CYRUS E. RUBIN, M.D.

Phoenixville, Pa.

No Apathy

SIR: In the *New Republic* United Nations News column (August 18), I read of the "apathy and confusion" in California on the subject of the United Nations, also that "in Southern California the apathy is especially prevalent."

I am wondering where and how you secured that information. It is quite contrary to our experience. We find it difficult to keep up with the demand for speakers, for literature, for information and for general chapter development. . . . The Santa Barbara Chapter has 400 members; Pasadena, Glendale, San Diego, Santa Monica, San Fernando Valley are all on the way. There will be many more chapters in Southern California, for the interest is widespread

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and growing. The Los Angeles Chapter has 800 members and we hope to reach 1,000 by September. In all the 24 years of our experience, we have never known of a more vital interest.... Assuring you that, happily, you are wrong in your report on Southern California. . . .

MARY J. WORKMAN
Secretary, Los Angeles Chapter
American Association for the
United Nations, Inc.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Another View of New Orleans

SIR: I am writing to protest your recent article by Ralph Martin about Mayor Morrison of New Orleans ["New Orleans Has Its Face Lifted," the *NR*, June 2]. To begin with the least important aspect of the matter, there are several factual errors in the article. Mayor Morrison is not a Rhodes Scholar. The Tidewater Channel is to cost much less than the $200 million which is stated. Nobody in New Orleans believes the city contains anything like the number of prostitutes mentioned by Mr. Martin. We are aware of no proof that crime is decreasing. It is meaningless to say that New Orleans is the second port in the United States without identifying the statistics you are using; most experts would say that this ranking was far too high. Your author fails to record the fact that a large part of the city's population believes a union station for the railroads is now undesirable, especially since two-thirds of our visitors come here by air, water or bus. The bond issue for the union station and some other purposes won by fewer than 1,000 votes in a city of 600,000 residents, and after $27,000 of city money had been used to put the issue over. The amount involved —$23.5 million—is grossly inadequate for the purposes described, and, in any case, such a development should be undertaken only as part of a comprehensive plan for the city and, most of all, for the port.

More important than any of these points, however, is the seeming endorsement of Morrison by Mr. Martin and the *New Republic*. Liberals who live in New Orleans and are well acquainted with the situation believe this is unjustified. We see no evidence that Morrison is a liberal. We think he is the friend and affiliate of the little circle of wealthy men who have this town in their grip and continue to run its affairs in their own interest, which they confuse with that of the community as a whole.

JOHN H. BERNHARD
New Orleans, La.

Bandwagon

Mathematics for the Millions

Although commending the books for attempting to teach arithmetic "in terms of real-life situation," Mrs. Strong argued they too often gave "pathetic pictures of life in the United States."

Mrs. Strong said the board [of education] ordered deleted a passage that read, "One-third of our people are poorly housed." She said this was probably true, but that the board thought it should be eliminated "in line with my idea of not stirring up trouble." – *UP dispatch from San Francisco.*

A La Carte

Summer leaves so much to remember. That humming birds get up before the dawn to drink their honeysuckle nectar. That creamed, canned soups may be served ice cold and taste almost as good as the much-lauded Vichyssoise. – *From Clementine Paddleford's column in the New York* Herald Tribune.

Elementary, My Dear Watson

DESIRE FOR MORE ROOM
CAUSE OF HOME SHORTAGE
REAL ESTATE MEN SAY

– *UP dispatch from Harrisburg, Pa.*

Gabble-de-Gook

General Clay is known to be particularly annoyed by the disclosures of various details of the level-of-industry plan shortly before a projected announcement. It is understood he feels that had not these disclosures been made, the French government might not have had an opportunity to make the protest that ultimately caused the postponement of the announcement of the new plan and resulted in the present tripartite meeting in London. – *From the New York* Times.

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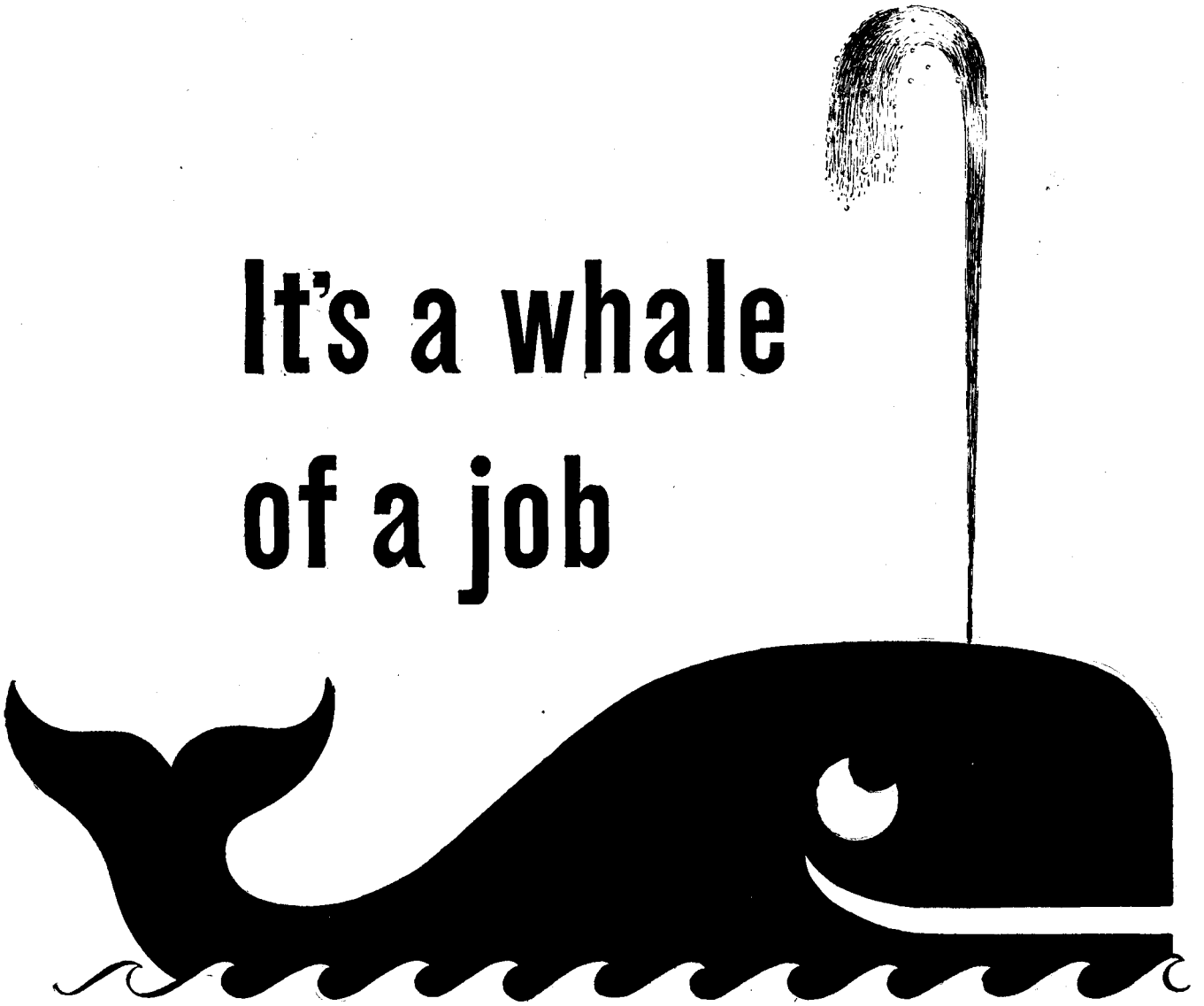

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